An Arab-Israeli Settlement *J. W. Fulbright*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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A Journal of Politics and the Arts — October 10, 1970, 50 cents

Why the Paris Talks Are Getting Nowhere

Zalin B. Grant

Women's Work —*Janet Malcolm*

Hemingway —*Jonathan Yardley*

The Goodell Trap —*Paul R. Wieck*

Feeding Lockheed —*Barbara Newman*

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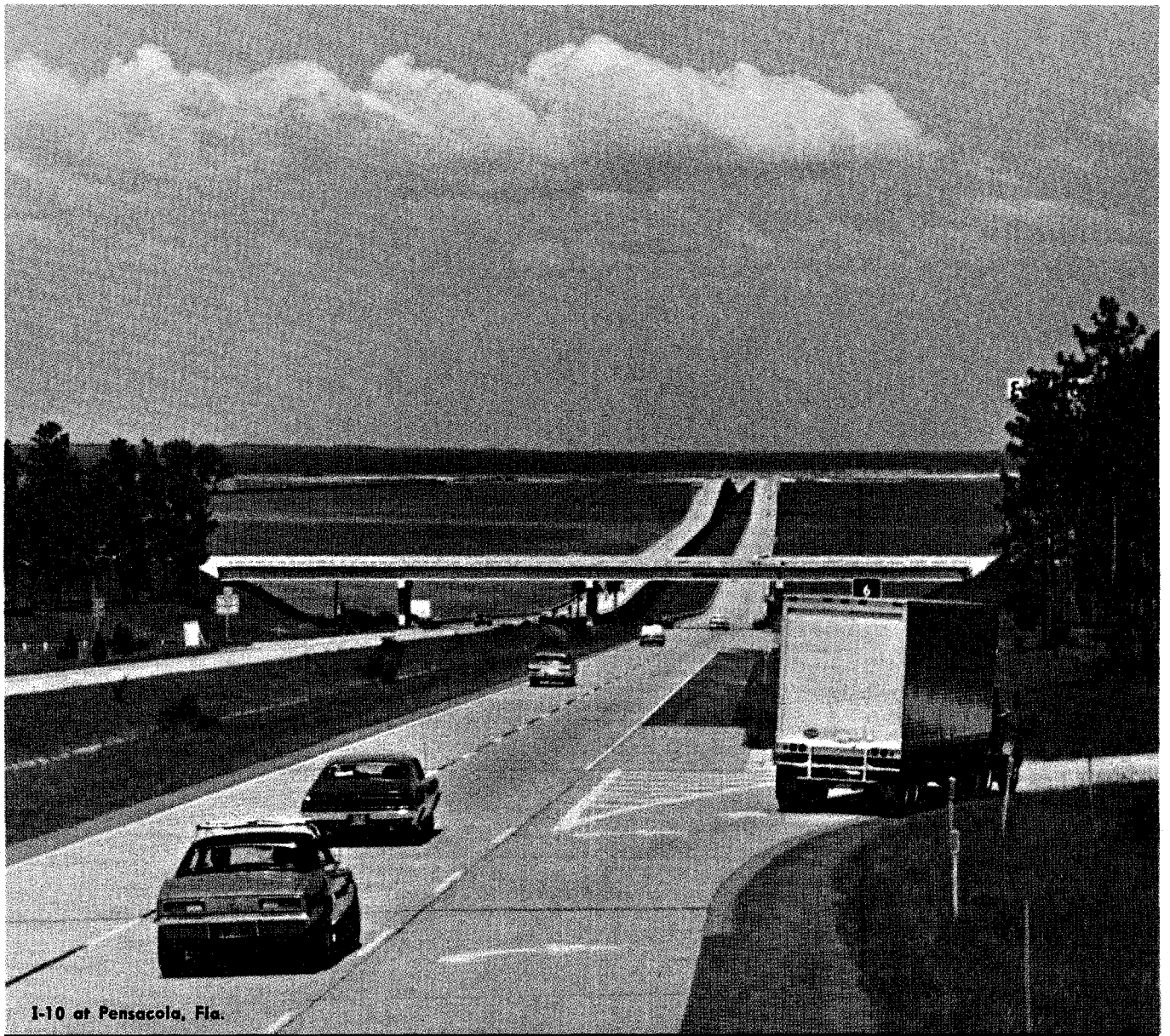

I-10 at Pensacola, Fla.

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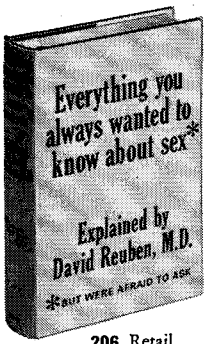

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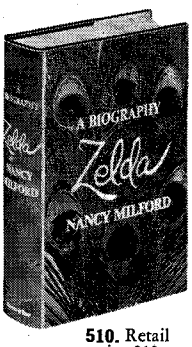

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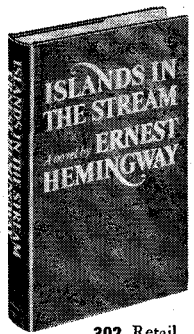

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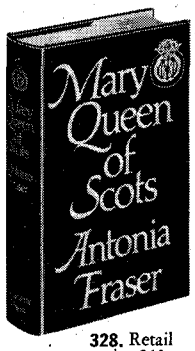

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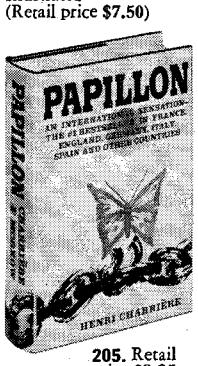

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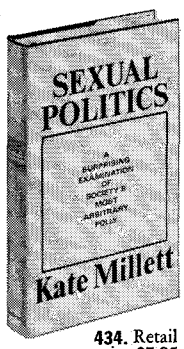

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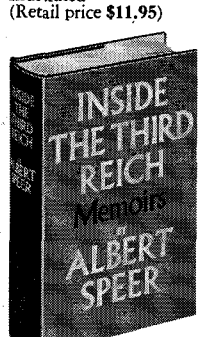

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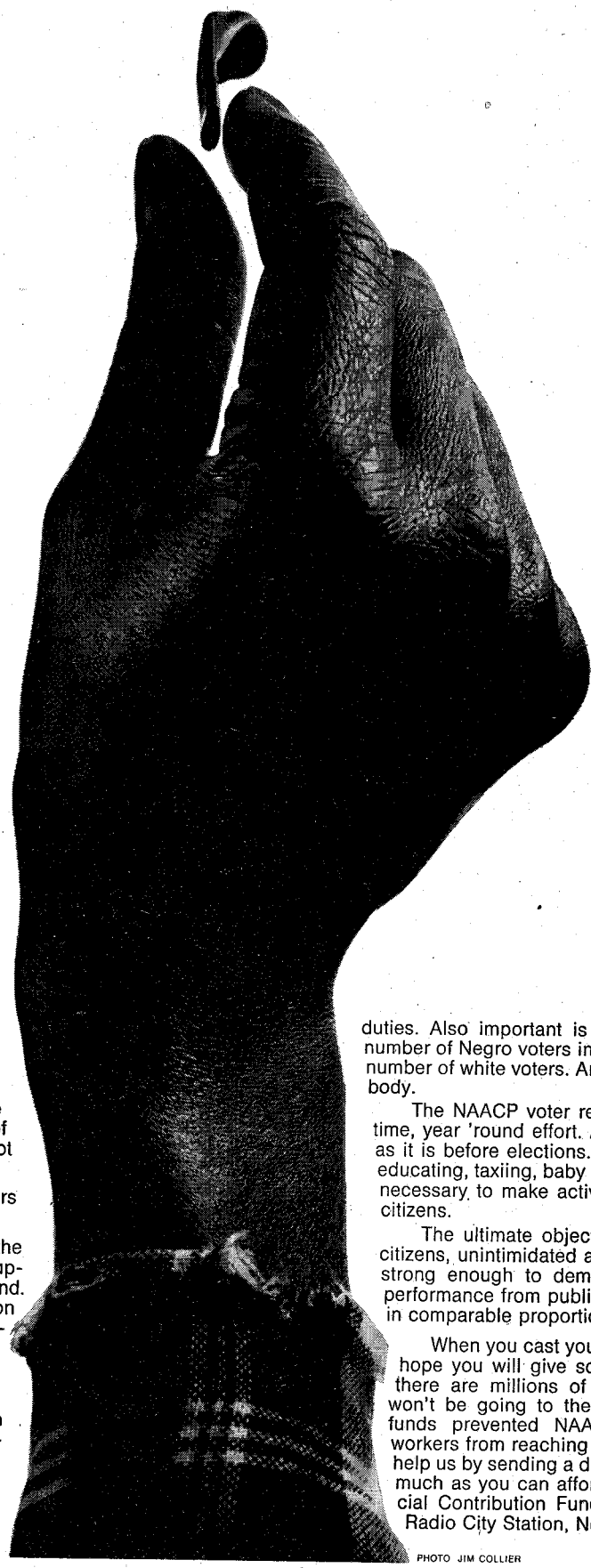
Who he votes for is his business



Whether he votes at all is everybody's business.

Yes . . . the law says he has a right to vote. And the signs say it's his duty to vote. And the people who are running for office even ask for his vote. But the fact is . . . 3 out of every 5 eligible Negro voters either are not registered or do not vote.

That's not too bad, though. Just a few years ago the proportion was 10 out of 12.

Getting out the Negro vote is one of the most important and successful activities supported by the NAACP Special Contribution Fund. Since starting its full time Voter Registration Program in 1957, the NAACP has been responsible for enrolling 2 million new voters. And the effects of this are being felt on all levels of government and in all areas of the nation.

When public officials must depend on Negro votes to win elections and must account to their Negro constituents for their actions in office . . . the size of the Negro vote has a significant bearing on both the quality of the man elected and how well he performs his duties. Also important is the fact that when the number of Negro voters increases . . . so does the number of white voters. And that's good for everybody.

The NAACP voter registration work is a full time, year 'round effort. As active after elections as it is before elections. And it includes urging, educating, taxiing, baby sitting and anything else necessary to make active voters out of eligible citizens.

The ultimate objective? Enlightened black citizens, unintimidated about going to the polls, strong enough to demand high standards of performance from public officials and who vote in comparable proportion to the white majority.

When you cast your ballot this year . . . we hope you will give some thought to the fact there are millions of Negro Americans who won't be going to the polls because lack of funds prevented NAACP Voter Registration workers from reaching them. We hope you will help us by sending a donation for as little or as much as you can afford to: The NAACP Special Contribution Fund, Dept. E-6, Box 121, Radio City Station, New York, N.Y. 10019.

PHOTO JIM COLLIER

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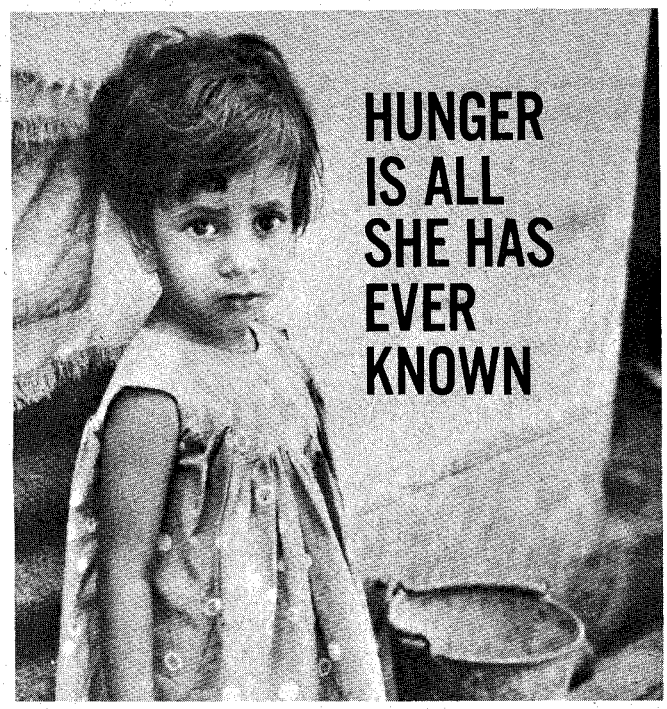
The answers to some questions frequently asked by our sponsors

If you are considering sponsoring a child through the Christian Children's Fund, certain questions may occur to you. Perhaps you will find them answered here.

Q. What does it cost to sponsor a child? A. Only $12 per month. (Your gifts are tax deductible.)
Q. May I choose the child I wish to help? A. You may indicate your preference of boy or girl, age, and country. Many sponsors allow us to select a child from our emergency list.
Q. Will I receive a photograph of my child? A. Yes, and with the photograph will come a case history plus a description of the Home or Project where your child receives help.
Q. How long does it take before I learn about the child assigned to me? A. You will receive your personal sponsor folder in about two weeks, giving you complete information about the child you will be helping.
Q. May I write to my child? A. Yes. In fact, your child will write to you a few weeks after you become a sponsor. Your letters are translated by one of our workers overseas. You receive your child's original letter, plus an English translation, direct from the home or project overseas.
Q. What help does the child receive from my support? A. In countries of great poverty, such as India, your gifts provide total support for a child. In other countries your sponsorship gives the children benefits that otherwise they would not receive, such as diet supplements, medical care, adequate clothing, school supplies.
Q. What type of projects does CCF support overseas? A. Besides the orphanages and Family Helper Projects CCF has homes for the blind, abandoned babies homes, day care nurseries, health homes, vocational training centers, and many other types of projects.
Q. Who supervises the work overseas? A. Regional offices are staffed with both Americans and nationals. Caseworkers, orphanage superintendents, housemothers, and other personnel must meet high professional standards—plus have a deep love for children.
Q. Is CCF independent or church operated? A. Independent. CCF is incorporated as a nonprofit organization. We work closely with missionaries of 41 denominations. No child is refused entrance to a Home because of creed or race.
Q. When was CCF started, and how large is it now? A. 1938 was the beginning, with one orphanage in China. Today, over 100,000 children are being assisted in 55 countries. However, we are not interested in being "big." Rather, our job is to be a bridge between the American sponsor, and the child being helped overseas.
Q. May I visit my child? A. Yes. Our Homes around the world are delighted to have sponsors visit them. Please inform the superintendent in advance of your scheduled arrival.
Q. May groups sponsor a child? A. Yes, church classes, office workers, civic clubs, schools and other groups. We ask that one person serve as correspondent for a group.
Q. Are all the children orphans? A. No. Although many of our children are orphans, youngsters are helped primarily on the basis of need. Some have one living parent unable to care for the child properly. Others come to us because of abandonment, broken homes, parents unwilling to assume responsibility, or serious illness of one or both parents.
Q. How can I be sure that the money I give actually reaches the child? A. CCF keeps close check on all children through field offices, supervisors and caseworkers. Homes and Projects are inspected by our staff. Each home is required to submit an annual audited statement.



Margaret was found in a back lane of Calcutta, lying in her doorway, unconscious from hunger. Inside, her mother had just died in childbirth.

You can see from the expression on Margaret's face that she doesn't understand why her mother can't get up, or why her father doesn't come home, or why the dull throb in her stomach won't go away.

What you can't see is that Margaret is dying of malnutrition. She has periods of fainting, her eyes are strangely glazed. Next will come a bloated stomach, falling hair, parched skin. And finally, death from malnutrition, a killer that claims 10,000 lives *every day*.

Meanwhile, in America we eat 4.66 pounds of food a day per person, then throw away enough garbage to feed a family of six in India. In fact, the average dog in America has a higher protein diet than Margaret!

If you were to suddenly join the ranks of 1½ billion people who are forever hungry, your next meal would be a bowl of rice, day after tomorrow a piece of fish the size of a silver dollar, later in the week more rice—maybe.

Hard-pressed by the natural disasters and phenomenal birth rate, the Indian government is valiantly trying to curb what Mahatma Gandhi called "The Eternal Compulsory Fast."

But Margaret's story can have a happy ending, because she has a CCF sponsor now. And for only $12 a month you can also sponsor a child like Margaret and help provide food, clothing, shelter—and love.

You will receive the child's picture, personal history, and the opportunity to exchange letters. Christmas cards—and priceless friendship.

Since 1938, American sponsors have found this to be an intimate, person-to-person way of sharing their blessings with youngsters around the world.

So won't you help? Today?

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Taiwan (Formosa) and Hong Kong. (Or let us select a child for you from our emergency list.)

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I enclose first payment of $_____ Send me child's name, story, address and picture.
I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____
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TRB®

from Washington

Off-the-Record

At this point in his first term of office Franklin Roosevelt had held 150 Washington press conferences. President Nixon has held 12. It has changed the whole tone here. It has made the Presidency once-removed.

Other Nixon officials follow the off-the-record White House pattern. The bold, direct press conference, "How about it, Mr. President?" has turned into the timid news leak, and news ooze.

Enter a new vocabulary.

Settling back in his chair the Anonymous High Official breathes heavily, glances round the oblong table, notes the poised pencils and makes his decision: will his information be – on-the-record; off-the-record; half-and-half; background; deep background; very deep background; formula attribution ("usually well-informed sources")?

Everybody plays this game today in Washington; it has succeeded hula hoop and frisbee. Does Agnew's attack on the Scranton campus unrest report represent Mr. Nixon's own views? Mr. Nixon isn't there to ask. How about the Middle East? You can get Mr. Nixon's supposed feelings filtered out from a secretary, or grab an early edition of some newspaper before the story is killed where Mr. Nixon has seen executives, or you can subscribe to *Women's Wear Daily*.

The lively Henry Kissinger is the most prolific anonymous briefer.

Press secretary Ron Ziegler brings him in: "The ground rules are as they have been in the past," says Ziegler; "'Administration officials'; no direct quotations." A reporter asks, "Are you going to give us copies to take away or just to look at?"

Ziegler: "I haven't decided that yet."

Dr. Kissinger: "You will get the text as soon as we put the verbs into it." (Laughter).

Once when the cover was a "high official source," Kissinger brightly suggested that reporters add, "with an accent."

An Eastern European reporter made surreptitious approaches to an American colleague to find out the Kissinger pitch on a recent crisis; he learned that the statement was available – no revelation of source, of course. Under this admirable arrangement everybody reads what Kissinger says except the American people. As to direct Q and A's to Mr. Nixon, that has happened only a dozen times here since he took office.

There's always the question whether it's "on or off" – the record, that is. John and Martha Mitchell have complicated that. Are comments at a cocktail buffet at a black-tie dinner automatically "off"? The Women's National Press Club put on a recent whing-ding where the AG commented easily about "these stupid bastards who are running our educational institutions," and declared that with campus violence "this country is going so far right you are not going even to recognize it."

A reporter from *Women's Wear Daily* said she identified herself at the start of the conversation for an interview. She listened as the AG characterized Kissinger as an "egocentric maniac who loves to appear in newspapers with Jill St. John, but who's brilliant and indispensable when he gets back to his office." What she heard she reported.

A protest exploded instantly from the Department of Justice. Who issued it? "A Justice Department spokesman."

Martha Mitchell rises above all this. When she is in the mood, often late at night, she calls up a wire service and denounces somebody. The other morning she explained that she was speaking from her upstairs bathroom, "so John won't hear me talking to you." No off-the-record commentator, she.

Mr. Nixon is an old hand at this sort of thing. In April, 1954, he spoke "off-the record," as he put it, to 600 editors and guests at a convention here, urging the US to send troops into Indochina to help the French. Fortunately Ike overruled him. Of course you can't be off-the-record before 600 people. Mr. Nixon is still belligerent, still off-the-record. In Chicago the other day he briefed local editors on the Near East. What looked like inspired Administration warnings to Russia promptly got into some early editions, apparently not at all to the displeasure of the White House. The official *Voice of America* eagerly put them out round the world. As the *NYTimes* drily observed, the White House "did not deny" them, and "did not seem deeply perturbed that its tough tone was being communicated to other countries."

The other day a party of reporters had breakfast with Pennsylvania's former governor William Scranton, chairman of the Commission on Campus Unrest. It was partly on the record, partly off. The Commission's report, incidentally, is remarkably even-handed, denouncing violence, and also the official provocations that create violence. Presidential commissions, of course, are not created to get something done but to save the President from having to do anything. The Scranton report was terribly awkward for Mr. Nixon because it urged moderation, lowered-voices and reconciliation just as Spiro was in full whoop. It was all the more awkward because tall, sad-faced Mr. Scranton, besides being an impeccable Republican, is everything the Administration isn't – dispassionate, aristocratic and magnanimous.

Well, an odd thing happened; first Gov. Scranton was there and then, presto, in the same chair sat a spectral "Commission Source." We get used to that sort of hide-and-seek, of course, in Washington, but it's a bit confusing at first, like Alice interviewing the disappearing cat.

Chief Justice Burger called in two startled wire service reporters the other day for an off-the-record, not-for-attribution, deep-backgrounder on why the Court is hearing a batch of Southern school desegregation cases at the start of the new term. The combative Chief Justice aches to have the Court understood, with some reason, but can the system stand the strain? Outside, the reporters looked at each other. How handle the story? Should they say, chummily, "It is learned"? Or start authoritatively, "An unimpeachable source in a black robe at the Supreme Court revealed today"?

Spiro Agnew ranges America chiding the press for irresponsibility. Very confusing! With "background" you omit the source, don't you? . . . Or is that "deep background"? Sorry, folks. I'm going off-the-record.

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Contents

7-9 Comment
Talking Back, Drug Abuse

9 And Now, Lettuce – *Daniel Henninger*

11 The Care and Feeding of Lockheed – *Barbara Newman*

13 Is New York Going Conservative? – *Paul R. Wieck*

15 Help!: Homework for the Liberated Woman – *Janet Malcolm*

17 Why the Paris Talks Are Getting Nowhere – *Zalin B. Grant*

20 An Arab-Israeli Settlement: J. W. Fulbright's Proposal and a Colloquy with Senator Ribicoff

24 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*

25 Books – Reviews by *Jonathan Yardley, Roger Starr, Stephen Koch*

33 Television – *Sedulus*

34 Correspondence

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Talking Back

According to Interior Secretary Hickel, all the Vice President is doing as he cruises the country is raising money for the Republican Party. He's doing that, and more. He is whooping it up for a crusade against what he calls "radical liberals," and they include, first and foremost, student and faculty activists. He wants them to get off the picket lines and back into the ivory tower. The academic community would be wise to take seriously what he's saying – and resist it. Yet there are signs, as the fall term begins, that some colleges and universities will instead try and run for cover. Many academics who last spring felt that the student "strikes" and other protests against the invasion of Cambodia were hopeful signs of student commitment to nonviolent reform now are being advised to lie low, despite the crescendo of Agnew-type attacks. They are counseled that inflation and recession are not what really upset the American public. Nor is it the senseless war in the Far East, which almost everyone deplores but still tolerates. Nor is desecration of the environment, nor even crime in the streets. It is *students*. So play it safe, adjust your campus style to the fact that angry Americans can't see the difference between criminals who would bomb a college laboratory in Wisconsin, and a 19-year-old girl who gives a flower to a national guardsman at Kent State.

Very important political figures connive in this melodrama of student villainy. The President appoints a commission to study the causes of campus unrest, and his friends Senators Allott and Goldwater shoot it down before they've read it. When it is read, the Scranton Report proves to be a sober warning that the crisis in American society is "as deep as any since the Civil War." It then describes what has been happening on the campus, and offers a constructive guide to students, faculty, administrators, law enforcement agencies and the government on how to deal with "violent acts and harsh rhetoric." But it also, by implication, suggests that the President has not exercised "moral leadership as the first step to prevent violence and create understanding." So naturally the Vice President attacks the Report, and his intemperate attack on a most temperate document gets about as much space in the average newspaper as the report itself. We don't blame him for criticizing the Report. He could not, as publicist for Mr. Nixon and the conservatives, agree with the

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Commission's recommendations, for they include ending the war in Indochina. And although the Report is firmly on the side of punishing bombers and arsonists, it speaks with compassion of a younger generation's rejection of brutality, triviality, and hypocrisy. It wants the President to *talk* with the black and white militants, understand their concerns, their life style. It wants him to "review the national commitment to full social justice and to beware of increasing charges of repression." And Mr. Agnew calls all this "more pablum for permissiveness."

As of last week, the White House had no plans to distribute the Report. And that is interesting. For quite recently, on two occasions, Mr. Nixon took the trouble to write college and university administrators throughout the nation, commending to them the views on student unrest of Sidney Hook and of J. Edgar Hoover, whose opinions he enclosed. If you want to know what's in the Scranton Report, you may, in a week or two, get a copy by writing the Government Printing Office, but don't call the White House. A thousand people may read the text someday, but meanwhile millions will read and see lengthy newspaper and television accounts of the Vice President's latest rants in Memphis or Casper or San Diego against "effete" and spineless intellectuals, "ideological eunuchs," "impudent snobs," "small groups of misfits seeking to discredit a free system because they can't effectively compete and find success anywhere."

Now Mr. Agnew knows what he is about, and so does the President. Mr. Agnew is stirring up the deeply ingrained resentment of the South, the Midwest, and the mountain states against the East, of "average" people against teachers and students or anything that *sounds* intellectual. He is dredging up hatreds that had seemed, during the late Eisenhower years and the Kennedy and early Johnson years, to be fading away. And as his cocky elation betrays, he is finding it remarkably easy not only to revitalize old paranoias, but to run roughshod over those "pushy youngsters" and "middle-age malcontents" who inhabit schools.

For almost no one is rushing to their defense. Except for occasional reasoned responses by one of a half-dozen senators, the Vice President goes relatively unchallenged. We are told instead that the Democratic chairman, Lawrence O'Brien, is joining in a Texas conservative effort to kick John Kenneth Galbraith out of the party councils, and that the hottest items in Democratic thinking this year are the recommendations of Hubert Humphrey associates Richard C. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg that the party try to woo back the hard-hats. This may be justifiable, or at least understandable in practical terms, when so many liberal officeholders seem paralyzed by fears of a fretful public. But Agnew's attacks are beginning to have a disabling effect on the academy itself. The most recurrent counsel the universities are being given is to avoid being "politicized," lest it cost them their freedom or their financing. (The political implications of this are evident. Recently, a professor received a letter from a colleague asking him to support the Republican who is running for governor of Rhode Island, on the perplexing ground that "politicization of the university leads surely to its destruction," and therefore, presumably, the professors ought to ingratiate themselves with Republicans.) Teachers are being urged to remember the damage Joe McCarthy did. Well, many of them do remember, and their recollection is that Joe McCarthy bulldozed educators, not because they were too "political," but because they were too silent.

The late Senator McCarthy had as graphic a vocabulary as Agnew's. He characterized his liberal victims as "gutless wonders," a contemptuous remark that will be validated again if professors and college presidents shrink from criticism in the interest of hoarding the vestiges of academic freedom. Although no practical lawyer believes that universities like Princeton or Brown will be denied their tax exemption for recessing for two weeks in October to let students work in political campaigns, many have been snowed by Senator Thurmond's punitive interpretation of the tax laws, and by the Vice President's advice to students not to become "emotionally 'involved' with government on issues and problems." The government, of course, does not hesitate to get involved with students. The US Office of Education is mandated by Congress this year to provide no loans "or remuneration whatever," to anyone at a university who has used "the threat of force" (or assisted others who have) to "prevent the availability of certain curriculums." The language is imprecise, but the political purpose is not. And the House of Representatives, if it had its way, would have attached to the HEW Appropriation Bill a rider to the effect that no federal funds could go to any college which failed to take action to curb riots. Again, the language is vague, but the intent is not. And now, President Nixon puts in Gerald Ford's hands a proposal to send an additional thousand FBI agents, principally to investigate campus bombing or arson. No one favors blowing up a professor's office, or having his research burned, but FBI agents swarming over campuses, tapping wires and keeping files on dissidents, is a thinly veiled attempt to intimidate.

It is up to the universities to speak up against the potentially dangerous aspects of this kind of legislation, and to encourage student political activity even in the face of it. If the universities go along with the idea that being "responsible" means keeping mum, then the McCarthyism that they invoke to explain their behavior will become more than a fear.

The Nixon Watch: *John Osborne was following the President around Europe last week. His report on the trip will appear in our next issue.*

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Drug Abuse

"If the rest of the society wears short hair, the member of this youth culture wears his hair long. If others are clean, he is dirty. If others drink alcohol and illegalize marijuana, he denounces alcohol and smokes pot. . . . By these means, he declares himself an alien in a large society with which he fundamentally is at odds." – The Scranton Report

Devotees of the "counter culture" described with anthropological detachment by the President's Commission on Campus Unrest will not be moved to go straight by the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act of 1970. Passed in slightly varying form by the House and Senate and now certain to become law, the Administration's bill was reputed to be a comprehensive reform which will make the punishment for drug use more nearly fit the crime and deter the drug trade. But it's a contradictory and punitive law.

The act sets up five categories, or schedules, of drugs, with penalties for each. Marijuana and heroin are in Schedule I, because they have "high abuse potential" and "no accepted medical use." (The amount of harm a drug may do to the individual is not considered relevant to the classification.) Schedule II includes substances with potential for abuse but which have "restricted" medical use, i.e. methadone. Amphetamines fall under Schedule III: drugs in accepted medical use that have a lower physical dependence than drugs in the first two categories. Sedatives and sleeping pills, such as meprobamate and phenobarbital, are in Schedule IV; codein-based cough syrups are in Schedule V.

The Committee for Effective Drug Abuse Legislation – a group of doctors, lawyers and other professionals – supported the bill but opposed the scheduling criteria, on the grounds that these should be based on potential harm to the individual. If that counsel had been taken, marijuana, the most frequently abused illicit drug, would be at or near the bottom of the list, certainly not in the same category as heroin; it would have fallen below such sometimes legal drugs as amphetamines, which account for eight percent of all prescriptions (8 billion pills legally produced each year; 40 for every man, woman and child). Amphetamines, while frequently misused by young people, are staple items for middle-class adults. The House specifically rejected a manufacturing quota on amphetamines that would have ended the flagrant overprescribing and overuse of legal "speed." There are economic and generational interests to protect.

The new act has been praised for lowering criminal penalties: simple possession of an illicit drug will no longer be a felony but a misdemeanor; first offenders will qualify for probation. So a kid who gets caught with a single "joint" can henceforth be sentenced to no more than a year in prison. Sale of marijuana – a crime as widespread among the young as simple possession – carries a maximum five-year term. The penalties double for sales to minors, even if the seller is a minor.

Rep. Bob Eckhardt (D, Tex.) and three other congressmen on the House Commerce Committee took exception to several provisions of the bill. They felt that drug abuse "is serious and complex enough to deserve precise congressional treatment, not the quick, rimfire legislative reflex action often set off by domestic events and emotional responses." They objected specifically to special sentencing provided for professional dope pushers, and to "no-knock" entry for police busts. Under the "dangerous special offender sentencing provision," sellers involved in a "series of violations" from which they get "substantial income" and who act as leaders "in concert with five or more other persons" will, on conviction, be sentenced to mandatory ten-year terms. Eckhardt, Reps. John Moss, John Dingell, and Brock Adams, wondered (in concert) whether the definition might not be applied to "six young men attending a college (who) reside together in a cooperative boarding house" and smoke marijuana. If one of them, say the house manager, were to sell his five friends some grass, at cost, say $100, he could get 10 years as a pro pusher. Eckhardt and the others also objected to the authority the bill gives police with warrants to forcibly enter premises, giving no notice and destroying whatever property is in their way (specifically "an outer or inner door or window of a building, or any part of the building, or anything therein").

And Now, Lettuce

Representatives of Cesar Chavez's United Farmworkers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) have been fanning out across the country from California to announce a new boycott: iceberg lettuce. As in the grape fight, the boycott's goal is to force a large group of California growers, this time the vegetable growers, to recognize UFWOC as the fieldworkers' chosen representative. Union lettuce will be wrapped and carry a Chiquita or Amigo sticker, plus the black UFWOC eagle.

The United Farmworkers moved against the vegetable growers the day after receiving oral contract commitments from the Delano grape companies. It was not Chavez's choice of battlegrounds. UFWOC had seriously considered taking on the giant citrus

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outfits after the grape victory. But the vegetable growers were getting jumpy. After winding up routine contract negotiations with the Western Conference of Teamsters July 22, the Growers-Shippers Vegetable Association of Central California called a membership meeting and discussed asking the Teamsters to organize the Salinas-Santa Maria Valley fieldworkers.

The growers didn't like what they saw in Chavez's grape contracts which contain a hiring hall clause giving a worker seniority for his experience and assuring him of a job when he returns to the same field next season. UFWOC also insists on a tough pesticide clause that outlaws chlorinated hydrocarbons such as DDT, Endrin, Aldrin, and Dealdrin and monitors closely the use of organo phosphates like parathion and the herbicides 2,4D and 2,4,5T. The growers say provisions like this dilute their "managerial rights."

The Teamsters themselves had been pressuring California growers for some time for the opportunity to sign up the field hands. With the fieldworkers in tow, the Teamsters would control the food process from the farm to the supermarket. According to a declaration filed in San Francisco Superior Court by Cal B. Watkins, personnel manager for Interharvest, Inc., the growers sent a committee to feel out the Teamsters on a deal. They returned with a Teamster recognition agreement, which about 29 firms initially signed (ultimately 62 Salinas growers signed), authorizing the truckers to go into their fields and sign up workers. The growers could live with Teamster contracts which have a lower wage scale than UFWOC's and no hiring hall. After signing with the Teamsters, some growers simply told the workers they had committed them to the Teamsters and they had to join the union. In the Santa Maria and Imperial Valleys where the Teamsters also moved in, UFWOC found the union signing up workers through labor contractors, who normally get a fee per head from the grower plus a wad of the workers' income for the job, transportation, food and lodging.

On August 2, about 100 workers from Freshpick (a division of Purex Corp.) came to UFWOC's temporary headquarters in Salinas and said they had been told either sign with the Teamsters or get out. Chavez ordered a selective strike against Freshpick, which effectively crippled that operation. On August 11 UFWOC and the Teamsters sat down to talk. Overnight, UFWOC and Teamster organizer William Grami worked out a coexistence pact by which UFWOC agreed not to organize truckers and other traditional Teamster operations if the Teamsters would keep their hands off the agricultural workers (a similar jurisdictional pact had been signed three years ago). The pact made no written mention of the Teamster-grower contracts, which UFWOC of course wanted rescinded. Grami told UFWOC's general counsel that he couldn't make a written legal commitment contradicting the grower contracts, so UFWOC settled for a good faith understanding that the Teamsters would persuade the growers to rescind. Grami asked for and got a six-day moratorium on UFWOC picketing. A week later, the Teamsters said the growers would not rescind and that they, the Teamsters, would honor the contracts. Any United Farmworker pickets, said Grami, "would be considered a violation of the jurisdictional settlement."

The pact a shambles, Chavez called a general strike in Salinas for August 24. The best measure of the strike's success is the daily report of the Market News Service, which indicates how much crop is going out on a given day. The crop going out in the strike's first two days was almost nil, explaining why the price of iceberg lettuce suddenly doubled last month to 50 and 60 cents a head. After that, the growers got some workers back into the fields and output rose.

The violence started the day after the strike was called. A UFWOC lawyer went out to Hansen Farms to investigate reports that strikers sitting in at the Mann packing plant, located on Hansen's land, had not left the property at an agreed time and that some Teamsters were seen headed in that direction. Walking onto Hansen's property, the lawyer and three companions were met by eight or nine pickup trucks and about 15 men. Albert Hansen, the owner, told the lawyer to get off his land. The lawyer said he wanted assurance the strikers were all right. Hansen then said "Get 'em, boys!" The lawyer charges that James C. Plemmons, a huge Teamster from Local 890 grabbed him from behind and that 890's Bobby Scheisler punched him in the head with a black-gloved fist. The lawyer remembers nothing after that, but his companions have stated that he was punched and kicked repeatedly in the head, stomach and groin. He spent a week in the hospital with a severe concussion, a mild contusion on the right side of his brain, muscle spasms, malfunctioning in the right eye, and temporary loss of feeling in his right arm. According to an 18-year-old girl who was picketing at Pic 'n' Pac (a S. S. Pierce subsidiary) the day after the beating, three men drove up to their pickets. Grabbing her union flag, one said "Your lawyer has died; what's the use of striking?" then pulled her into the car and belted her.

For the next several weeks, truckers and growers tried to run down pickets, pickets were beaten and in turn slashed tires and hurled rocks at Teamster drivers. It was violence of a sort that the determinedly nonviolent Chavez had not encountered in the grape fight. UFWOC was convinced that law enforcement officials in Salinas and Monterey County looked the other way when pickets were attacked, and on September 3 filed suit seeking an injunction against further violence. A week later the suit was tossed out of San Mateo Superior Court by Judge Melvin Cohn, who asked UFWOC's attorneys if they represented "Cesar Chavez,

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star of radio, TV and newspapers." Both Salinas City Police Chief Herb Roberson and Monterey County Sheriff Jack Davenport deny prejudiced law enforcement. An independent observer in Salinas with no stake in the strike's outcome thinks "there were plenty of police and deputies on the line who would have been very happy to have someone tell them to go get the strikers, but I think the men at the top of both departments were trying very hard to play it very cool." A vigilante group called Citizens for Justice formed, with the obligatory bumper-sticker demand: "Reds Lettuce Alone." Fearing continued violence, Chavez called off the strike on September 17 and switched to the boycott. UFWOC officials told Jerry Berman, a lawyer from the Center for Community Change in Washington DC, that UFWOC didn't have a strike fund that could sustain a long court fight against grower injunctions, put up bail for arrested pickets, and, pay and feed the striking workers.

The lettuce boycott itself is doing well in Los Angeles and San Francisco, where it started. Grami, the Teamster, says six other lettuce growers have asked for recissions and UFWOC is negotiating with several of them. "The reason they got out," says Grami, "was the pressure of the boycott."

Daniel Henninger

The Care and Feeding Of Lockheed

According to an Air Force briefing paper for high Pentagon officials, which recently appeared on Capitol Hill, the Pentagon is on the verge of bailing out the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation to the tune of about $600 million on the C-5A contract. Lockheed is the C-5A prime contractor and the nation's largest defense contractor in fiscal 1969. Although the Air Force briefing paper is just the latest in a series of proposed methods of rescuing Lockheed, the fact that the company is fast running out of cash, gives it credibility. The Pentagon is going to act soon, probably within a month – after they have this year's appropriation firmly in hand.

The terms of the latest bailout are awesome. The government is to circumvent, the Armed Services Board of Contract appeals – the legal machinery for litigating Lockheed's $600 million claim against the US on the C-5A contract. (Lockheed's claim stems from a dispute as to whether the government is obliged to buy 120 C-5As as Lockheed says it is, or 81 as the Air Force insists. To date, Congress has only authorized the purchase of 81 C-5As. Therefore, there is the implicit question of whether the Air Force exceeded its authority if the Lockheed claim stands up). The briefing paper states that a ruling by the Board could confront Lockheed with a "catastrophic loss" and would not be made in time to "hold off bankruptcy." Thus, the Air Force proposes to settle the dispute by replacing the existing C-5A contract with a new "cost plus fixed loss" contract under which it would negotiate a fixed loss with Lockheed, based upon "the ability of Lockheed to tolerate loss." The Air Force estimates Lockheed's claim is worth about $70 million, "but would probably be settled at a compromise of $200-$300 million." The briefing paper suggests that the government could provide the difference between the compromise settlement and the $600 million claim (less a certain investment by Lockheed) by a long-term, low-interest government loan – from $300-$400 million. The repayment period, to start in 1974, could last 40 years.

What is striking about this arrangement is that the Air Force plans to make the loan to Lockheed on the basis of the little known and less-used P. L. 85-804 instead of the more conventional Defense Production Act of 1950. P. L. 85-804 is valid only during a national emergency. The national emergency under which the Pentagon plans to bail-out Lockheed was declared by President Truman on December 16, 1950, in the wake of the Korean War. It has never been rescinded. Although there is no legal limit on the amount of any bail-out, the largest has been $5.5 million to a French housing contractor. The Lockheed loan would be 70 times larger than any previous loan.

Unlike the Defense Production Act which requires a Federal Reserve Board credit analysis of any company seeking a federally guaranteed loan, P. L. 85-804 enables the Pentagon unilaterally to make loans with no assurance of repayment.

It is interesting to note that DOD was halted in an attempt to bail out Penn Central under the Defense Production Act, after Rep. Wright Patman (D, Tex.) obtained and publicized the Federal Reserve Board credit analysis of Penn Central, indicating the company might not have the capability to repay the loan. The same question arises regarding Lockheed. The ability of Lockheed to make good on a $300- or $400-million loan is questionable in view of the company's performance on the C-5A, other military contracts and its own $34 million net loss in calendar year 1969. In addition, Lockheed is in serious trouble selling its commercial jumbo jet, the L-1011, in a market glutted with oversized aircraft. The Pentagon might find itself locked into the position of sustaining Lockheed with additional defense contracts so that the company could pay its debt.

It now appears that the Congress will be faced with a *fait accompli*. This type of blackmail is no innovation. In order to ensure the delivery of 81 C-5As,

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Congress has just taken the extraordinary step of authorizing $200 million for Lockheed, above and beyond the $3.4 billion already appropriated, which was to have been the cost of the total C-5A program. This $200 million – called by critics of the C-5A, the Lockheed "slush fund" – was voted under the threat, as expressed by Senator John Stennis (D, Miss.), Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, that unless the funds were forthcoming, the Air Force would receive only 17 C-5As and a pile of bits and pieces for the $3.4 billion already invested. Lockheed said it lacked the cash to continue work on the C-5A.

Congress never fulfilled its responsibilities throughout the entire C-5A affair. It has been content to demand feed Lockheed by providing whatever the company wanted, whenever it wanted it (even after it knew that there were serious technical problems and a $2 billion cost overrun on the program). Two weeks ago, the House Military Operations Subcommittee, charged with Congressional oversight of DOD operations, began a series of hearings on changes in Defense procurement practices. After a year of exposure of procurement disaster on major weapons systems, including the C-5A, the F-111 and the Mark 48 Torpedo, this was a chance for Congress to require a Defense Department explanation of how it is changing what Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard calls the "mess" in military procurement. Mr. Packard was the lead-off witness. Under the protective eye of Chairman Holifield (D, Calif.), he reasserted his commitment to get tough with contractors in the future: "If a contractor signs a fixed price contract he will be held to it . . . If he wants to gamble, that is his business, but he should be expected to cover his losses. The fact is that the Department has been very soft on the gambling debts of its contractors for years. I want to change this practice . . ." Instead of questioning Packard about what he had done during the last 18 months to implement his "get tough" policy, Holifield engaged in a one-hour sporific dialogue with the secretary about the crucial role of rotation of Project Officers. When Rep. William S. Moorhead (D, Pa.) attempted to question Packard about details of the briefing paper, Holifield cut him off after 12 minutes, and then allotted the same amount of time to the committee staff director.

Moorhead was blocked from asking any embarrassing questions during the next two days of hearings. Three minutes before Robert C. Moot, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) was scheduled to testify, Moorhead received a call from the Speaker's office asking him to chair the floor debate on the Drug Abuse Bill. (Moorhead's staff had notified the Comptroller's office the day before of his intention to question Moot on specific aspects of the briefing paper.) During the third day of hearings, Holifield again cut off Moorhead – this time during questioning of Dr. Ronald Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations and Logistics (Procurement). Fox had alluded to the fact that the Army was buying the inventory of the Cheyenne helicopter for the second time for an aircraft the Army may never purchase.

Moorhead was endeavoring to ascertain the facts. Holifield insisted that Moorhead's questions were not germane and that they should be asked of Packard. Mr. Packard, a previous witness, was not scheduled to reappear before the Committee.

The importance of the briefing paper and these hearings is transcendent. Even if the specific terms of the briefing paper are not executed, it is important to to know just what kind of solution the Air Force is preparing for the Lockheed situation. Perhaps the public scrutiny of the terms of the briefing paper will cause the Pentagon to pause before agreeing to such questionable terms.

The blank check which the Congress has given to the military, as exhibited by the Holifield hearings, is responsible for much of the current C-5A problems. Just the fact that the military services can unilaterally commit themselves (and have done so) to actions legally requiring congressional approval (around which the $600 million C-5A, Lockheed-Air Force dispute revolves) is indicative.

The assuming by Congress of more responsibility in these matters is complicated. First, those who would like to perform a useful role lack sufficient information and staff. What they get is often the result of inside leaks. They receive no cooperation from the Pentagon, even less from the military committees in the Congress. Second, the ossified seniority system enables a Chet Holifield – who started off his career in the late 1940s as a liberal, but now as Chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee and the representative of a district with many constituents working for defense contractors identifies his interests with those of the Pentagon and the aerospace industry – to cut off legitimate debate on matters over which his subcommittee has direct responsibilities.

Some unanswered questions remain. Perhaps the most important in the long run will be the impact on the defense contracting community of the Lockheed bail-out. The precedent created by tearing up a contract because a company was losing money under it, is a dangerous one. The incentive for companies to abide by contractual obligations will be nil if they know they can run to the Pentagon every time they overrun a contract.

Then there's the question of money. The amounts committed by the Defense Department are so huge that it is easy to lose one's perspective. Chief Justice Warren Burger noted in his State of the Judiciary speech that less than $200 million is spent on the nation's judicial system, which badly needs attention. Now the Air Force is thinking of committing about twice

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as much to keep the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation alive. The alternative of letting Lockheed abide by the law of survival of the fittest in a free enterprise economy is not palatable to the Pentagon. Yet, there is nothing that Lockheed has which is unique or irreplaceable. As Gordon Rule, the Navy's chief procurement officer testified last year: "If defense contractors can't hack it . . . they ought to be terminated for default, and if they lose money and go bankrupt let them do it. Maybe a couple of bankruptcies and defaults in the defense industry is going to do them good."

Barbara Newman

Barbara Newman *is Washington correspondent for the New York Broadcasting System.*

The Goodell Trap

Is New York Going Conservative?

New York City

Can it happen here? This is the city candidates come to in search of left-of-liberal fat cats. It's home base for a new breed of advocate journalists of the "new politics," the heartland of a new life style. Yet, a specter is visible through the haze that shrouds New York. Its name is James Buckley, the Conservative Party candidate for US Senator. As of this moment, he has a fair chance of snatching the brass ring.

Today, Rep. Richard L. Ottinger (D) is clearly ahead. He is running as high as 40 percent in polls and never more than a few points lower. The dispute is over who is in second. Except for diehard backers of Sen. Charles Goodell (R), there is general agreement the nod goes to Buckley. His poll showings range as high as 32 percent but are usually a few points lower. In late August-early September readings, Goodell fell below 20 percent in some polls, probably an unrealistically low figure.

Goodell's fall from grace over a period of just a few months illustrates better than any race this year just how treacherous coalition building can be as we enter the seventies.

Through his first year in the Senate, Goodell labored in vain to get the attention of New York City's huge liberal community. Then, he became their hero almost overnight by proposing a fixed timetable for withdrawal from Vietnam, known as S-3000. As he moved left and GOP opposition to President Nixon's war critics hardened, Sen. Goodell's upstate base shriveled until he was greeted by catcalls at a GOP state convention. Now, he's faced with the dilemma of trying to save his share of the liberals, worried as they are over the possibility that a vote for Goodell might help elect Buckley; recoup his strength in traditional upstate GOP areas that demand a more conservative stance; and seize a piece of the action in the teeming suburbs, up to now hotbeds of Buckley and Ottinger strength.

The most significant shift is the move toward Buckley. Two years ago, he polled 1.1 million votes as the Conservative candidate against Sen. Jacob Javits and Paul O'Dwyer, a respectable showing based largely on the votes of Catholic homeowners in the suburban and semi-suburban areas. His managers think he needs at least 2.4 million to win this year; they claim to be edging toward the 2 million figure now. They say that 75 percent of the GOP precinct apparatus is supporting their man, a claim poohpoohed by Goodell and called "in the ball park" by Ottinger people. Only a handful – a couple of county chairman, a fistful of state legislators and sundry precinct people – have announced for Buckley publicly. But in a patronage state like New York, few party people would want to put their party defection in writing. It is indisputable that in many upstate counties, Goodell is in serious trouble.

Goodell admits things are bad in Nassau and Suffolk counties (Buckley polled 23 percent in Nassau County in 1968), but he says he has strong backing from major upstate county organizations – Erie (Buffalo), Monroe (Rochester) and Albany, to name three.

The Buckley camp analyzes it differently: If they can round up $100,000 per week for media between now and election day, they'll win. Currently, their TV is stressing crime and student unrest in what is politely called a "newsreel" approach that became familiar to Texas voters earlier in the year: a montage of riots, clinched fists, etc., with a background of sirens and a brief Buckley message. It ties in with their polls, which show crime, campus unrest and drugs are the three concerns of New York voters.

This year, F. Clifton White, the man behind the Goldwater draft in 1963-64 and the Reagan boomlet in 1968, is displaying his candidates as moderates. The Ottinger camp refers to it as the "Clean Gene, middle-of-the-road" approach. It means Buckley isn't trying to go around right end; he's hitting for a hole off right guard by presenting himself as the man who supports President Nixon's domestic policies while offering GOPers an alternative to the man he says chose "the New Left" on foreign policy. This is popular upstate.

But Buckley is doing too well not to be a target himself. Ottinger's workers in places like Westchester County report huge strength showing up in canvassing, and Ottinger is going to be reminding homeowners that, should Buckley's opposition to federal aid to

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education prevail, it would mean higher property taxes. Blue collars workers will be reminded of Buckley's view that the minimum wage causes unemployment. Buckley may find that support on what are fashionably called social issues cannot be construed as sympathy for undoing all the social gains of the last several decades.

Goodell is also taking aim. He quips that Buckley understands 20th century fears but offers 19th century solutions. He cites his own support of specific Administration programs (welfare reform, selective service reform) to upstaters. He even notes that his record of party regularity (48 percent) is better than Goldwater's (37 percent), according to a *Congressional Quarterly* survey.

The need to reclaim upstate GOP votes while fending off Ottinger in the fight for Manhattan's liberal-left contingents gives a new twist to what Ottinger calls Goodell's "credibility problem.". In Manhattan, an antiwar record record is crucial. Thus, Goodell scores points because Ottinger called S-3000 "irresponsible" in the fall of 1969 and waited until the spring of 1970 to embrace the general idea as embodied in the McGovern-Hatfield proposal. By then, it was respectable. But every time Goodell has to go on TV to point this out to Manhattan voters, upstate GOPers get goose pimples.

If there is a middle ground to occupy, Ottinger's standing on it. He has a solid, liberal record as a three-term House member from Westchester County and close rapport with his constituents. When he campaigns a restaurant in his own district, even the waitresses become campaign aides for the duration of the visit. In party politics, he has followed a formula developed for Westchester County. He's in bed with neither the organization nor the reformers but lets each do its thing, while he goes over the head of both to make a direct appeal to the voters. It worked in his suburban district.

In the weeks ahead, the battle will be fought out on TV.

Goodell's biggest asset is his personable style. He hopes to counter the question Ottinger has raised about his credibility (the inconsistency of a moderately conservative record in the House with a distinctly more liberal line in the Senate) by portraying himself as an "independent," a man who can pull warring groups together. As low man in the polls, however, he's having trouble raising the money to finance a media campaign.

Ottinger isn't. He spent heavily from family funds in the primary and is doing so again this month. Far more reserved than Goodell, he nevertheless comes across well on TV, which may be all he needs to hold his lead, considering the normal 60-40 preference of New York voters for a Democrat and the fact he captured the endorsement of organized liberal groups such as ADA and the New Democratic Coalition.

One thing that should scramble the race is outside interference. The White House is watching the race carefully and, although Goodell claims he has a pledge of neutrality from President Nixon, Buckleyites are hoping they can bring Vice President Agnew into the state in behalf of their man later in the month. Agnew has already put Goodell down as a "radical liberal." If the Vice President goes in to blast Goodell, it could have a double effect of driving liberals to Goodell and Administration backers to Buckley, creating just the conditions needed to erase Ottinger's lead and elect Buckley.

Goodell could use help from Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who until last week, when he said he would "assist in every way I can, including financially," was holding his fellow Republicans at arms length. In one recent upstate speech, Rockefeller didn't even mention Goodell, although they were sharing the platform.

Maybe Rockefeller feels he can't afford to dabble in the Senate race at this time. For he started out far behind Arthur Goldberg in the polls some months back. With a perfectly paced campaign, however, he is closing the gap on schedule. He has the building trades with him, not surprising in light of the state's massive construction program during his 12 years as governor and the regular invitations Harry Van Arsdale and the boys get to Sunday brunch at the estate on the Hudson. He's also picking off reformers from the New Deal days who get upset when people say Goldberg is "above politics." To them, it suggests he might leave such matters to one of his many campaign strategists – Joe Crangle, Stanley Steingut, Meade Esposito, Patrick Cunningham. The older reformers worry about a return of that kind of politics.

Still, Goldberg may pull it off. His efforts are so ill organized, they have been described as "six managers in search of a campaign," but he does have the Liberal party, something Frank O'Connor didn't four years ago. He also has the admiration the older Jewish community holds for a poor boy who made good, and their grandchildren will have to go for Goldberg to cast a vote for State Sen. Basil Patterson, the attractive black candidate for lieutenant governor. Add to that the potential of a good black and Puerto Rican vote. It's very ethnic, but so is New York.

The problem seems to be holding the narrow lead Goldberg still has. To do this, he has loosened his tie and is getting out on the streets. They say he's improving as a politician but he had a long way to go. His campaign has money problems, but that's the story everywhere. Bella Abzug, who became Manhattan's sweetheart overnight by unseating Rep. Leonard Farbstein, finds herself in a tough race with Barry Farber, a radio personality with some hawkish

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tendencies. She, too, has no money and a deficit from the primary.

The Buckley phenomenon is apt to have a long-range impact on New York politics. Since its inception, the Conservative Party has been trying to bust up the game whereby the GOP has been rewarded by swing voters for nominating candidates with a more liberal image than those trotted out by the Democratic bosses. Now upstate WASPs, the forgotten voters in New York politics, are threatening to reward a Catholic conservative for being true to their faith, the pattern in reverse. Suddenly, there is more to the political formula even in New York City than ethnic combinations, a new life style, the impact of the opinion makers and a long liberal tradition. It is here, in the nation's largest and most sophisticated city, that the revolt of the hard hats reached the streets.

Like Chicago, the domain of a real boss, New York is being watched this year for a reading on the success of candidates who wrap themselves in a flag and go out to chase hippies. Its no longer confined to a few congressional districts but is a statewide phenomenon, as someone like Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein (D), is finding out. He's waging an uphill fight in a revamped district (he lost five Democratic towns and picked up an equal amount of GOP territory) against a man who suggests Lowenstein is bringing undesirable elements into the district. (Lowenstein is passing out flag lapel pins in his 19 store fronts with "Wear it Proudly" message on the card.)

New York is one of three states with three-way Senate contests this year. In each of the three (Connecticut and Virginia are the other two), a more realistic realignment of voters may be the end result.

The portents are good in Connecticut, where the first poll shows Democrat Joe Duffey doing well among independents and liberal Republicans to hold an edge over Rep. Lowell Weicker (R), the moderate Republican. Sen. Tom Dodd (D), running as an independent is in third place.

Virginia is different. There, Sen. Harry F. Byrd, running as an independent, is ahead, although George Rawlings, a liberal with labor and black endorsements, is busily mending fences and might threaten Byrd if the GOP's Ray Garland can hold enough Republicans in line to poll up to 25 percent of the vote.

Only in New York, where it's one conservative against two Democrats, are the storm warnings up. Four TV debates are ahead, a solid month of media saturation and enough genuine concern among liberals to make it probable that a clear plurality of voters will stay with Ottinger, perhaps even pad his edge, if the Buckley threat is there in early November.

Unlike California's liberal-left, which hated Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown so much in 1966 they decided the state could survive four years of Gov. Ronald Reagan and consequently sat on their hands, New York's activists have the advantage of hindsight.

Paul R. Wieck

Homework for the Liberated Woman

Help!

by Janet Malcom

In the early decades of this century, the "servant problem" commanded the sort of earnest attention that Women's Liberation enjoys today; books and articles appeared regularly on the subject, sociological surveys were made, and schools of "domestic science" were formed. The "problem" referred to was the employer's rather than the servant's. Employers were going through a period of adjustment to the improved conditions, higher pay and shorter hours that servants were able to demand (not because employers had become more humane but because factory work had become an alternative), and many of them found the going very hard indeed. (It is a measure of how wretched the life of the old fashioned servant had been and how much work had been got out of her that twelve-hour-a-day factory work was considered more pleasant than domestic service.) The adjustment was gradually made, and we don't talk about the servant problem anymore, or even, for that matter about servants. We call them "help" – which has a nice democratic sound. Orwell observed about euphemisms that they enable people to live with social and political evils that, if called by their right names, would not be tol-

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erated. Today's "servant problem," such as it is, hardly represents a serious social evil; nevertheless, few people who employ servants are completely easy about it. Many wonder whether they ought to employ servants at all, even on a part-time basis. The problem lies in the *nature* of the work. Paying someone to do for you what you are capable of doing yourself is the element in the mistress-servant relationship that keeps it from being a simple business transaction such as we have with our electricians and psychiatrists. Many people say they have wonderful relationships with their servants, just as many people said they had wonderful relationships with their slaves. But the majority of today's servant-mistress relationships are not wonderful. The fact that the work is not only something the mistress of the house could do herself but that it is work generally acknowledged to be disagreeable looms too large and leads to resentment on one side and feelings of guilt on the other.

Behind the Women's Lib idea that keeping house and raising children is not enough and that women need to find "fulfillment" in work outside the home, just as men do, is the assumption that some nonreader of *The Feminine Mystique* will turn up to do the housework and take care of the children. Some more democratic-minded feminists have proposed that, instead of servants, working wives get their male chauvinist pig husbands to do an equal share of the housework and child care. There are already many families where the husband does a great deal around the house, though one rarely encounters a family where the responsibility for running the house is shared. Women continue to be in charge of households, and women continue to exist who actually dislike the idea of men doing any housework at all. D. H. Lawrence once wrote that "a woman who loves a man would sleep on a board," and some women are really like that. They not only would sleep on a board provided by the man they love but they will enjoy keeping house for him and making things easy and comfortable for him. A cynic might draw a parallel between the love-besotted housewife and the airline stewardess, who under the delusion that she is doing something romantic is actually working as a maid. The fact remains that happily married women tend to be less fussed about housework than women who are not happy with their husbands. (It may be significant that single women or girls who live together also don't complain about being "exploited" and "oppressed" in regard to the cooking, cleaning, sweeping, dusting, washing of dishes, making of beds that they too have to do.)

There are women who exempt their husbands from help with housework neither for romantic reasons nor because they are ignorant of their "rights," but simply because they find housework itself less boring and degrading than the business of seeing to it that "he does his share." But probably the most important factor in the relative contentment of the servantless, nonmilitant housewife or working wife is the relative ease with which today's housework can be dispatched. Until this century, the running of a household required an awesome amount of hard, dirty, physical work. The decline of servants coincided with (and perhaps speeded) the rise of domestic technology and now, because of our washing machines, dishwashers, gas and electric ovens, paper and plastic products, detergents, and so on, housework is at worst boring and repetitive; it is anything but dirty and hard. The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away. Alas, it turns out that all the conveniences and appliances that take the drudgery out of our lives have not only to be repaired but are making the planet uninhabitable. It looks as if, in order not to pollute ourselves out of existence, we are going to have to give up our nice green plastic garbage bags and our detergents with microenzyme action, and go back to doing hard, dirty work. If this happens the old forms of domestic service may come back, and there may once again be a real "servant problem."

The most profound and important domestic changes of our century have been in the sphere of child care. Children have always been what domestic life is about, what all the cleaning and washing and cooking are but a background for. But until recent times relations between children and parents were a good deal more difficult, on both sides, than they are today. Under the old authoritarian and repressive system of child-rearing, the process was an exhausting and painful struggle from which both sides came out somehow maimed. This, at least, is the way it now appears to those of us who believe in today's libertarian, easy, friendly, watchful methods of treating babies and children. This revolution in the child-parent relationship is usually traced to romantic, humanitarian, and Freudian ideas rather than to technology (though here and there technology does enter the picture: our untraumatic toilet-training methods, for example, are surely as much a result of advances made in the laundering of diapers or the availability of "disposables" as of an acceptance of the ideas of Freud). What has been achieved, in effect, is the liberation of children, and for many people this represents a milestone in human progress.

Women's Liberation seems bent on undoing this achievement. From feminists' writings one gathers that the claims of children are incompatible with the rights of women, and that it is the children, being the less important of the two, who must be sacrificed. It isn't put this baldly, of course. Feminists talk about "overprotection" and "mommism" and produce studies showing that there is a lower incidence of security-blanket fetishism among the offspring of working mothers than among those of mothers who stay at home. In *The Feminine Mystique* Betty Friedan cites a study made in 1946, by a Dr. Green, of a group of Polish immigrants' children, who were horribly abused

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and yet developed no neuroses – presumably because their mothers were away at work between beatings. Caroline Bird, the author of *Born Female*, writes that "it is a mistake to confuse mothering with doing the diapers, making the formula, bathing, chauffering, dressing, feeding, and stopping backyard fights," and believes that children brought up by servants receive a "stronger moral sense" from their parents than do children who are reared by their mothers.

There is no doubt that many women are happier going to work than staying at home with their children, but it has by no means been established that children are actually "better off" when their mothers aren't around. In any case, a woman who chooses to put her baby in someone else's care so that she can pursue a career shouldn't be hypocritical about her decision and tell herself that she is doing it for the sake of the child. She is doing it for herself. She may be doing the right thing – selfish decisions are often the best decisions – but she ought to see *what* she is doing and be willing to pay the price in affection that parental neglect often exacts. Whether or not to sacrifice or interrupt a career in order to take care of one's children is an important decision. The feminist's unwillingness to see that there are drawbacks to being a working mother, quite as serious as those that attach to staying home with the little wretches, betrays a lack of seriousness that to many people's minds puts the claims of the whole movement into doubt. The passages in feminist writings that have to do with children remind me of the writing in *Playboy* about women. There is the same condescension and tendency to see the child as an object rather than as a person. The reason *Playboy* writers write that way is, obviously, because they are men who have never gotten anywhere with – or perhaps even near – women. Men who enjoy close relationships with women rarely fail to do them justice; usually they overestimate them. The feminists who regard children as nuisances can only be women who have had little if anything to do with them.

The notion that even the dreariest office job is better than staying home with children has been seen as part of the reaction against the fit of "togetherness" that seized the nation shortly after the Second World War. In the post-war years the rearing of children and the cleaning of houses enjoyed the prestige among women that working in offices and picketing all-male airplane flights enjoys today. Reactions tend to exaggerate the evil of the thing they are against, and to create evils of their own. Many women today have become so worried about their lack of a strong vocation or talent or of feelings of ambition that they are truly "oppressed," as women who just have a sinkful of dirty dishes to brood about are not. Other women have become so terrified lest they turn into Jewish Mothers that they have, as it were, thrown out the baby with the chicken broth. Although "togetherness" was vulgar and stupid, the new feminism may be an even more invidious cause of unhappiness and discontent.

Why the Paris Talks Are Getting Nowhere

by Zalin B. Grant

In the process, we lose sight of one of the cardinal maxims of a guerrilla war: the guerrilla wins if he does not lose.—Henry Kissinger, *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1969.

The Nixon Administration is not prepared to negotiate in Paris under any terms short of capitulation by the other side. An impasse strategy has taken shape, based, unfortunately, on that glimmer of marsh gas known as Vietnamization. Listen. A war bureaucrat speaks on the Paris talks: "The only alternative to their absurd demands is for us to improve our position militarily while reducing our forces." Another: "Our interest is in letting it become a totally Vietnamese impasse."

An excellent example of the impasse strategy is the US handling of the Vietcong's new negotiating proposals. The State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research predicted months ago that the other side would try to make it stormy for Mr. Nixon during the pre-election period. The forecast was for new pro-

Zalin B. Grant *in recent weeks has observed the war from Saigon, Phnom Penh, Paris and Washington.*

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posals which would link a US withdrawal to the prisoner of war issue. The Provisional Revolutionary Government did, of course, recently make the predicted proposals. Just as predictably, Ambassador David K. E. Bruce quickly labeled them with a botched cliché as "new wine in old bottles" (an aide later reversed the adjectives).

The PRG's proposals are perhaps not the *Grand Cru* Mr. Nixon wants, but they are better than anything served up in Paris in the past year and a half. The first point of the VC's new eight-point package states: "In case the US government declares it will withdraw from South Vietnam all its troops and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp by June 30, 1971, the People's Liberation Armed Forces will refrain from attacking the withdrawing troops of the United States and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp, and the parties will engage at once in discussion on:

"The question of ensuring safety for the total withdrawal of US troops and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp.

"The question of releasing captured military men."

As seen through the State Department's tinted windows, Point One is old PRG hash salted with the POW issue and garnished with an extra three months' grace time for a US withdrawal. Last December, the PRG offered to discuss the modalities of withdrawal in return for a US commitment to get out in six months.

In their haste to discredit the proposals, however, the US negotiators apparently failed to give them the deep study they deserved. More strangely, the PRG's proposals have been left largely undiscussed by the national news media, which are suffering, perhaps, from battle-fatigue or are too absorbed with the Mideast.

First of all, what's really in the proposals for the US? Just a nine-month eviction notice, another artful dodge by the North Vietnamese, as the Administration would have us believe? Hardly. Some Vietnam experts say, for openers, that a signal from Mr. Nixon would bring a quick response from North Vietnam on the modalities of a withdrawal. If the US firmly said it would get out, these sources predict, North Vietnam would first extend the withdrawal time, perhaps up to 18 months. This particular point could prove extremely damaging to the Administration if the public awoke to its possibilities. Mr. Nixon has indicated that most US troops will be withdrawn within the next year or so anyway. Why not, then, make a firm declaration that we're getting out and get negotiations for a permanent peace started?

Moreover, a close reading of Point One of the new proposals uncovers a lot more hidden doors, perhaps one leading to that mutual troop withdrawal by Hanoi and the US that our policy makers long for. It doesn't take New Math to calculate that North Vietnam will never openly agree to a mutual troop withdrawal, especially when you add the Asian desire for a face-saving device to the Communists' undeniable strength at the bargaining table. The problem must be approached from a side entrance. Point One's double-jointed emphasis on troop safety during a withdrawal may be the key.

Were this simply a call for a unilateral troop withdrawal, North Vietnam and the PRG could have stopped with the first phrase "the People's Liberation Armed Forces will refrain from attacking the withdrawing troops . . ." Instead, they followed up with "and the parties will engage at once in discussion on the question of ensuring the safety for the total withdrawal . . ." The ideal method to "ensure the safety" is, of course, by 1) cease-fire and 2) mutual withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops. North Vietnam is well aware that these would be priority US demands in any "discussions." Obviously, should Mr. Nixon declare he intends to withdraw totally and the secret talks on "ensuring the safety for a total withdrawal" later break down, the US would be under no obligation to carry out its part of the bargain.

Sweeping all major US problems into one tidy pile, a withdrawal declaration would also trigger talks on freeing American POWs. At stake would be not only some 500 pilots held in Hanoi but also the undisclosed number of soldiers and Marines rotting in jungle camps in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Presumably, the progress of US withdrawal would determine the speed of their repatriation. The POWs are indisputably North Vietnam's trump card. Not a thousand propaganda missions by Colonel Frank Borman are likely to lower the price of getting these Americans back.

As for the South Vietnamese – the PRG's new proposals, in effect, make it possible for Thieu to set up his own front government to begin immediate negotiations with the Vietcong for a political settlement. The PRG said, for the first time, it was willing to negotiate with an interim administration in Saigon that would specifically exclude only Thieu, Vice President Ky and Prime Minister Tran Thien Khiem. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, the PRG's chief negotiator, said the interim administration need only stand for "peace, independence and neutrality." This description fits 99 percent for South Vietnam's weary population.

The Vietcong will not, of course, negotiate with Thieu's brother or another general. But the broad-brush definition of who they will negotiate with clearly limits their rights to dispute the makeup of the interim administration. Too many peremptory challenges would result in a loss of their credibility in international eyes, and a subsequent loss of sympathy. Since Mr. Thieu's power comes mainly from an arrangement of allegiance within the military establishment, he could still retain control of South Vietnam's

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overall direction during the transition period from, say, the position of Army commander. Similarly, Ky and Khiem could return to their roles as generals and still maintain their particular bases of power.

Following the scenario set up by the PRG several weeks ago, Thieu's front government – or whatever interim administration materializes after Thieu steps down – would first negotiate with the Vietcong to establish a mixed electoral commission, called a "provisional coalition government" by the PRG. The PRG specified that the elements forming such a temporary government would be members of the Vietcong, as well as those persons associated with the present Saigon government who stand for "peace, independence, neutrality and democracy, including those who, for political reasons, have to live abroad." This provisional coalition government, or electoral commission, would then set up and supervise a general election, which would, presumably, produce a *de jure* coalition government.

In short, the PRG's new proposals could kick off the two-tier negotiations Mr. Henry Kissinger once suggested as a formula for solving the Vietnam deadlock. On one level, Hanoi and Washington could negotiate the strictly military questions of troop withdrawal and the release of POWs. At the same time, with some bending by President Thieu, Saigon and the PRG could begin to discuss a settlement that would reflect the political realities of South Vietnam.

The prospects of such discussions ever beginning, however, are almost zero. American officials, despite public pronouncements to the contrary, are still hoping for the *deus ex machina* that will scoop down and give them a "win." North Vietnam *is* hurting, as they say. The Tet offensive *was* costly to Hanoi. The Balance of Terror has shifted, at least temporarily, to the US side in South Vietnam. But there is nothing to justify their almost total reliance on Vietnamization, the latest US "solution" and the cause of the impasse strategy in Paris.

The best US analysts say all of North Vietnam's problems thrown together won't decisively weaken the Communists' position in Paris. Although North Vietnam is now losing about 50,000 men a year, another 125 thousand new men annually come of draft age. To demonstrate its strength, Hanoi is moving back into First Corps in force, preparing to turn the area into the bloody battlefield it was two years ago.

On the other hand, South Vietnam's economy has never been in more critical shape. The political weather is still extremely uncertain; Thieu has failed to expand his political base and deep divisions and suspicions remain. General Do Cao Tri, the tiger of Cambodia, not long ago told reporters Thieu's distrust of his generals was so ingrained that he would not even assign a helicopter to Tri on a permanent basis during the Cambodian invasion. And though South Vietnam's army got good press reviews in Cambodia, left unsaid was the fact it is years away from having decent logistics, air and artillery support systems – real indicators of a good army.

Fresh ideas on US policy are stifled at birth. Look at Washington, Paris and Saigon. With the exceptions of Kissinger, Laird and Rogers, Mr. Nixon uses the old Johnson staff of war bureaucrats—less than 30 men, who were the original architects and contractors for our high-rise in the quicksand. These men are all intelligent and wonderfully dedicated public servants; but is it not too much to ask that they perceive clearly the change in American interests when they have spent the best parts of their careers stoking a war we are now trying to extinguish?

There are signs that the war bureaucracy has taken on a certain life of its own. In Paris, for example, a member of the US delegation fondly points out that the annual cost of running the American side of the peace talks is less than the price of one HU-34 helicopter. Not too much, he is implying, for the American taxpayer should the talks stutter on for quite a few years.

A few months ago, when the talks were deeply stalemated, a *Washington Post* staffer told a key US delegation member that the *Post* wouldn't be covering the talks anymore on a regular Thursday basis. The American official expressed his pleasure at the news, and his hopes that other US media would follow suit. North Vietnam, he said, is only interested in using the talks as a propaganda platform.

The most significant news to come from the American side in Paris lately is that Philip Habib, former acting chief US negotiator, will stay on as Ambassador Bruce's deputy. Mr. Habib, a superb foreign service officer, is probably the most persuasive rationalizer in in government today of the kind of policies that have mired us in Vietnam. He had been scheduled to take an ambassadorship to another country.

In Saigon, the story is largely the same. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker has toiled more than three years to plane the edges of Nguyen Van Thieu and shape him into an American-style politician. But now even some of Mr. Bunker's admirers openly wonder if he has not finally begun to confuse Mr. Thieu's interests with US interests. The second most important civilian in Vietnam, Ambassador William Colby, highly capable but an implacable Jesuit on the subject of US involvement in South Vietnam, hangs on as pacification chief though he is known to be exhausted. He, too, was slated for a change of assignment this past summer.

The danger of the war bureaucracy lies in its size. But, it's too small, not too large. After nearly 10 years of a controversial war, it is composed of an extremely small group of men with almost homogeneous views. "Vietnamization" is the only answer ever likely to come from them.

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Fulbright's Proposal, and His Colloquy with Senator Ribicoff

An Arab-Israeli Settlement

Even before the bloody uprising in Jordan, Israeli-Arab peace talks had foundered on the rock of Egyptian violations of the cease-fire agreement, and the Israelis were insisting that missile emplacements along the Canal would have to be removed before discussions could resume. Now, with the death last week of Gamal Abdel Nasser, though the immediate military threat appears to have diminished, so have prospects for negotiations in the near future. For until the struggle for power inside Egypt is settled, who can speak for the UAR, and how authoritatively and for how long can King Hussein speak for Jordan? Neither the US nor the USSR wants to be involved in a new war in the Middle East; but neither can command a settlement. Yet the search for some formula for coexistence must go on. In the remarks that follow, made on the Senate floor this past August, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee outlines a possible basis for negotiations, after which he replies to questions by Senator Ribicoff (D, Conn.):

by J. W. Fulbright

For most of the life span of both entities the United Nations and the State of Israel have been intimately, if not always cordially, involved with each other. Israel was legally initiated by the United Nations; since then its status, borders and policies have been the subject of a series of United Nations resolutions. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency still has primary responsibility for the Arab refugees; a United Nations peace force was placed between Egyptian and Israeli forces after the 1956 war and United Nations observers have been stationed along the Suez Canal since the June war of 1967. The Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, is still the most complete, impartial, and generally accepted policy statement for a Middle East settlement, and is still the best hope for a viable peace.

First and foremost, a just settlement must vindicate the principle, as spelled out in the Security Council resolution, of "the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war." This principle goes to the heart of the Charter; article 2, paragraph 4 states: "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state."

The return of the conquered territories is the major single requirement for peace as stated by both President Nasser and King Hussein. As King Hussein put it: "Israel may have either peace or territory – but she can never have both."

Restoration of the occupied territories is also American policy. In his notable speech of December 9, 1969, Secretary Rogers said: "We believe that while recognized political boundaries must be established and agreed upon by the parties, any changes in the pre-existing lines should not reflect the weight of conquest and should be confined to insubstantial alterations required for mutual security. We do not support expansionism. We believe troops must be withdrawn as the resolution provides."

In return for withdrawal from all of the territories occupied in 1967, Israel would be entitled to firm and specific guarantees of her security. One such guarantee might be stationing of sizable United Nations forces in militarily neutralized zones on both sides of the borders at all of the points which are critical to Israel's security. This would certainly include the Golan Heights from which, before the 1967 war, Syrian guns tormented the Israeli settlements below. UN forces might also be stationed on what is now the occupied west bank of the Jordan River; in and around the Gaza Strip and the old border between Israel and Egyptian Sinai; and perhaps too at Sharm el Sheikh to guarantee Israel's egress through the Strait of Tiran. In all cases it should be specified that the UN force could be removed only by consent of both Israel and the Arab government concerned. Perhaps, too, the consent of a majority of the United Nations Security Council might be required, either to remove the UN forces or to terminate the neutralized status of the zones in question.

Another necessary provision of an Arab-Israeli peace settlement would be a mutual disavowal of any further efforts by either side to alter the frontiers of 1967. The Security Council Resolution of November 1967 specifies the right of every state in the area to "live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." The Arabs, it must be remembered, are as frightened of the Zionist doctrine

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of unlimited Jewish immigration leading to a drive for *lebensraum* as the Israelis are of an Arab "holy war" to destroy Israel. Both sides are entitled to explicit guarantees against these deeply rooted fears. This can be accomplished by writing into a treaty a more explicit and detailed version of that provision of the Security Council resolution which would require "termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for an acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area."

Israel is entitled to free access through the Suez Canal as well as the Gulf of Aqaba and the Strait of Tiran. That, too, is called for in the Security Council resolution and should be guaranteed in the definitive instrument of peace.

As to Jerusalem, I have no specific recommendation. I think it well, however, to recall that the United Nations General Assembly unanimously condemned Israel's unilateral annexation of the city and that its status cannot be considered "nonnegotiable." Some form of international status would seem to be the appropriate solution. The Friends' study suggests the desirability of "some sort of federal condominium to govern an undivided and demilitarized Jerusalem" and makes the further contention, in which I concur, that Jerusalem "cannot peacefully become the sole possession of one religion or one national state." There may also be merit in Dr. Nahum Goldmann's suggestion that the old Arab section of Jerusalem be constituted "an autonomous enclave with an international status administered by its inhabitants." Such an internationalized city, Dr. Goldmann suggests, might become a "center for world organizations" as well as a center for three great religions.

Probably the most difficult and intractable of the issues to be resolved is that of "achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem" as called for in the Security Council Resolution of 1967. In justice and law – the latter in the form of numerous UN resolutions – the Palestinian Arab refugees are entitled to one of two forms of restitution: either repatriation or compensation. As a practical resolution it should be feasible to work out an agreement under which Israel would take back within its 1967 borders an agreed number of refugees who would be accepted as Israeli citizens and whose former properties would either be restored or compensated for. For the majority of refugees, repatriation would probably be neither feasible nor desired. A commitment by the Arab States to accept them and assist in their resettlement – as in part they have already done – should be accompanied by generous Israeli financial support, both to compensate these refugees for their losses and to facilitate their resettlement. With contributions from friends abroad, and with the relief from military costs which peace would make possible, Israel should have no great difficulty in meeting these costs, which in any case ought to be accepted as an elementary moral obligation.

In due course the Palestinian Arabs will find it necessary to accept the existence of the state of Israel and to recognize that further, futile efforts to destroy the Jewish state will only compound their own suffering. The Palestinians have been done a great historical injustice, but it cannot now be undone in the way they would have it undone. Indeed, after 22 years of Israel's existence as an independent state, it would now be as great an injustice to disrupt that society as it was for the Jews to drive the Arabs from their land in the first place. A certain rough justice accrues to any existing state of affairs, insofar as it affects people's lives and homes; once people are established and living in a place – regardless of how they got there – it becomes an injustice, even if it were a practical possibility, to disrupt and expel them.

This must be a bitter pill for the Palestinian Arabs to swallow, but, myths and realities being what they are, they are going to have to do it if they want an end to futile guerrilla warfare. Whether, whenever, and however, they do it, the Palestinians are entitled to some form of self-determination on the non-Israeli territory of Palestine. Whether they will wish to form an independent Palestinian state, or rejoin the Kingdom of Jordan, or federate with it in some way, is beyond the reach of a foreigner's judgment, and perhaps beyond the feasible scope of any foreseeable peace settlement in the Middle East.

Central and indispensable to a peace settlement based on the Security Council Resolution of November 1967 would be the guarantee of the entire settlement by the United Nations. Such a guarantee would properly take the form of a specific commitment by the UN Security Council to enforce the peace and all of its specifications, including the "secure and recognized boundaries" of both Israel and her Arab neighbors and the neutralized status of designated border zones. The agreement should also specify strict limitations on the sale or provision of arms to Middle Eastern states by outside powers. As permanent members of the Security Council, the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and France would have major responsibility for enforcement of the peace terms, but that obligation would fall upon them not in their capacity as "great powers" but as members of the Security Council, which is entrusted by article 24 of the Charter with "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security."

It might also be appropriate and desirable for the Security Council's guarantee to be ratified formally by the legislative bodies of the signatory states. Such action would represent a mark of the seriousness attached to this new commitment by members of the Security Council, although it might not be regarded

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as juridically essential since, by ratifying the Charter in the first place, every member of the United Nations is already committed, under article 25, to "accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council." It would do no harm, however, by formal parliamentary act, to remind the members of this frequently forgotten obligation.

For reasons of varying merit Israel has indicated on numerous occasions a lack of confidence in the United Nations. In order to accommodate this attitude and provide Israel with an added assurance of security, I, for one, would be willing to supplement a UN guarantee with a bilateral treaty – not an Executive agreement but a treaty consented to by the Senate – under which the United States would guarantee the territory and independence of Israel within the borders of 1967. This guarantee should neither add to, nor detract from, nor in any way alter the multilateral guarantee of the United Nations – which would obligate us, as a member of the Security Council, to defend the "secure and recognized boundaries" of both Israel and her Arab neighbors. The supplementary, bilateral arrangement with Israel would obligate the United States to use force if necessary, in accordance with its constitutional processes, to assist Israel against any violation of its 1967 borders which it could not repel itself, but the agreement would also obligate Israel, firmly and unequivocally, never to violate those borders herself.

I conceive of an American treaty of guarantee with Israel as an instrument which would come into effect after – and only after – the multilateral guarantee of the United Nations had been agreed upon and ratified by all parties. The bilateral treaty with Israel would represent no more than a repetition of, and an additional assurance of, our intent to honor the multilateral guarantee of the United Nations.

An Interchange with Senator Ribicoff

Mr. Ribicoff: I would like to ask the Senator from Arkansas whether the United States could come to Israel's defense under the treaty the Senator suggests, without the prior approval of the Security Council.

Mr. Fulbright: We would be obligated under the Security Council guarantee ourselves to implement that in accordance with our constitutional processes. However, in recent years the confidence in the United Nations has so eroded that I can well imagine that the Israelis, along with many other people, do not have much confidence that the Security Council would take action. So it is to support the UN commitment that I suggested we fortify it, primarily as an incentive to the Israelis to proceed with the other provisions, such as those relating to withdrawal. Its purpose is to give them confidence that we would take the Security Council guarantee seriously. So when you come to the bilateral guarantee, it simply reiterates and strengthens our determination to come to their aid.

Mr. Ribicoff: Suppose at a later date war breaks out again between Israel and the Arab States, after the UN agreement. How does the United States reach its decision whether to come to the assistance of Israel or not?

Mr. Fulbright: We would make it in accordance with the constitutional process, as we have always done – until recently. To take a hypothetical situation, if we decided the Israelis were the object of aggression by the Arab States, I think we would be as morally bound as we can be under the treaty to come to their assistance. That would not depend on further action by the Security Council. . . . To take another hypothetical example: if Israel, without provocation, renewed the war, this would remove our guarantee. It obtains only if Israel is the victim of aggression.

Mr. Ribicoff: The Senator from Arkansas also states that Israel would obligate itself, if I state it correctly, never to violate the UN-imposed borders. What if terrorist attacks on Israel mounted from Syria and Jordan continued? Does Israel still retain the legitimate right of self-defense to cross borders to get to the attackers who now enjoy the protection of Jordan and Syria?

Mr. Fulbright: First, if Jordan and Syria consented to or harbored this kind of attack, they would be in violation of the Security Council guarantee and I think the Security Council ought to take action. But if they do not, and if the occurrence is a clear violation, Israel of course reserves the right of self-defense if it is attacked. By agreeing to the guarantee and the settlement, they do not give up all rights of self-defense.

Mr. Ribicoff: Suppose Arab attackers flee back to Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Does the Senator conceive that Israelis, in hot pursuit, could not cross the borders of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon or Egypt to get to the terrorist bases in those countries?

Mr. Fulbright: If it is hot pursuit; I think they could do that. But here you raise a difficult factual matter. It is not unlike questions which have been raised with us in recent months in Southeast Asia. This must be judged by rule of reason. If guerrillas are going back and forth across the borders, I think the rule of reason would say yes, the Israelis could defend themselves, even to the extent of following the guerrillas across the borders. Then, you get to the question: Suppose they go all the way to Amman; suppose they go to the extent of attacking Jordan. That

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exceeds hot pursuit. They should not be allowed to use hot pursuit as an excuse to occupy Egypt or Jordan; they should not be allowed to go beyond what a reasonable man would say was repelling an attack. The Senator also assumes the attack is mounted with the support of the governments of the countries from whose territories the guerrillas operate. We know there are certain bands of terrorists here and in other countries which cannot be controlled. But I do not see any way to judge this other than to say that, if a course of action is reasonably related to Israeli defense, they could do it; if not, it would be a breach of their undertaking under the negotiated settlement and under the guarantee of the United Nations and our own.

Mr. Ribicoff: If there are organized bands that are going to continue their murderous forays into Israel, and the governments of Jordan, Lebanon or Egypt do not stop them, I do not see how, under those circumstances, how it would be possible to expect Israel to forbear from pursuing these terrorists across neighboring borders.

Mr. Fulbright: I think so, too, so long as the pursuit is reasonably related to those forays. . . . I personally do not believe these guerrilla bands can be a great problem to Israel unless they have the support of the country from which they operate. . . . In the past – I suppose up to the present – the fact is that if those guerrillas bands did not have the explicit approval, certainly they had the tacit approval of their host governments.

Mr. Ribicoff: Is it of no concern to the distinguished Senator that the Soviet Union is now in a position of being the dominant power strategically in the Middle East? We must take into account the whole Mediterranean area including our NATO allies Greece, Turkey, France and Italy, then there is the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea to consider. Can you say all of these areas have no bearing on US interests?

Mr. Fulbright: I do not think the Senator should be so absolute, in speaking of "no concern" and "no interests." These matters are not that absolute. First, I question the Senator's assertion that Russia is the dominant power in that area. We still have very important bases and arrangements with both Greece and Turkey, as well as with all the countries of Western Europe. We have a fleet that is much more powerful than anything the Soviets have in the Mediterranean. We have grown accustomed, ourselves, to believing that we have the sole right to be dominant in all oceans. I think the Russians certainly have succeeded in projecting the strength of their presence in the Mediterranean, but I certainly would not say they are dominant. Their strength at least approaches parity, we might say.

Mr. Ribicoff: I wish I were as confident as the Senator. I wonder how he would interpret the presence of over 10,000 military personnel in Egypt today. There are more Soviet-piloted supersonic jets in Egypt than the entire total in the Israel air force. Does the Russian military presence in Egypt concern the Senator?

Mr. Fulbright: I am not so Pollyanna-ish as to think that this is going to work out without any problem, [but] I remind the Senator that the Russians have far fewer of their men under arms abroad than we have. I can name a dozen places; 10,000 men is a relatively small number. We have that many in Spain. Think of how many we have scattered in various countries in the Far East. How does the Senator interpret that? How does the rest of the world look upon our actions? Does the Senator believe that because we have 60,000 troops in Korea or 10,000 in Spain, we are trying to dominate the world?

Mr. Ribicoff: In the settlement that the chairman contemplates, does he envisage that the Russian military personnel and Soviet pilots would leave Egypt?

Mr. Fulbright: I would certainly think that they would, eventually. I do not think they would do so before an agreement. It would depend upon the terms of the agreement.

Mr. Ribicoff: I have one other question: I note that the United Nations Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, states: "The right of every state in the area to live at peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from contention or acts of force." This to me contemplates some adjustments of the boundaries, yet the Senator talks about Israel's having to give up all the territories and moving back to exactly what the boundaries were before the 1967 war. I believe that almost all serious impartial observers have recognized there will have to be some adjustments of Israel's boundaries, because some of them are not realistic and certainly not defensible. Just as one example, I remember traveling from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and traveling in a steadily shrinking corridor in between. It seemed to me that this calls for a readjustment. Does the Senator contemplate that Israeli withdrawal would be to the exact borders as it had before the 1967 war?

Mr. Fulbright: Well, I think this has been and is the principle of the 1967 resolution. The Secretary of State, I believe, used a phrase, with allowance for, I think it is, an "insubstantial alteration" for purposes of security. But this is certainly a most serious matter and we can engage in negotiations on it, but always in accordance with the principle that all of the subscribers to the 1967 resolution announced concerning withdrawal from territories acquired by war. I think that the security of other very sensitive areas, such as the Golan Heights, Sharm el Sheikh, and the Gaza Strip should be guaranteed at least for a reasonable time by United Nations' security forces.

Mr. Ribicoff: What bothers me is that when Nasser told the United Nations forces to get out, they got out. How does the Senator contemplate that United Nations' security forces will cope with a future government order to leave its territory?

Mr. Fulbright: I am well aware, as is the Senator from Connecticut, that any agreement can be breached, no matter how solemn. They have been in the past. But again, we come back to the point: What do we suggest as an alternative? It seems to me that the only alternative is reliance solely upon purely arms. That's certainly a worse alternative. . . . I do not think it is in the interests of the Russians to continue the arms race – because of the possibility of a war with us – any more than it is in our own interest to do so.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Tristana

(Maron Films)

Eldridge Cleaver

(Cinema V)

Luis Buñuel is back in Buñuel country, alas. His last two films, *Simon of the Desert* and *The Milky Way*, were wonderful recrudescent works by an old artist concentrating on Catholicism in his unique Iberian atheist surrealist way. In *Tristana* he has relapsed into sensationalism – underpinned by the matters mentioned above but not clearly focused; and the result, like his earlier *Viridiana*, is an essentially vapid series of briefly stunning images.

Once again Buñuel puts on that hair-shirt in which he feels so comfortable: the hell of the flesh. Once again he defies ideas of divine order with blasts against priests and parades of deformities and fetishism (the shoe, an item he favors, is now on the end of a detached artificial leg). Once again his native land, Spain, is the cross of his consciousness, and the only thing he can do about the fate of having been born Spanish and Catholic is to rail like a defiant adolescent who also happens to have prodigious film-making gifts.

Julio Alejandro, who collaborated with Buñuel on the script of *Viridiana*, helped him write the script of this film from a novel by Perez Galdos. (Alejandro also collaborated on another Perez Galdos adaptation, *Nazarin*.) Like Viridiana, this heroine is an innocent put in the care of an older man who is sexually attracted to her. (The same actor, Fernando Rey, is the older man again.) This time the old man sleeps with her, instead of hanging himself. She is her guardian's mistress for a while, then she runs away with a young painter and returns in two years when she gets a tumor of the leg. After an amputation, one-legged Tristana marries her still-devoted guardian. In a scene reminiscent of *The Little Foxes*, she does *not* call a doctor when he has a heart attack. The barely well-to-do old man had lately inherited much money; Tristana is left a rich widow.

Again we are in a world where sex is a curse – the heaviest burden of human existence. Again the theme is corruption. But of whom by whom? When we meet Tristana, she is fresh and fair; when we leave her, she is a vicious and vindictive utilizer of her maimed body. (Special sex thrills there for special connoisseurs.) When her guardian first proposes that they go to bed, she makes no slightest protest; she walks into the bedroom and takes off her clothes – if not with joy, certainly with neither horror nor boredom. She reviles him some time later for what he did to her. Why? Here was a man who loved her, who behaved very decently toward her as benefactor, and who also slept with her – not against her will. Where was the villainy?

Understandably, she runs off with a younger man, but when she is in trouble and comes back, the older man takes her in at once and after her operation, marries her. In return for his never-failing devotion, she figuratively murders him.

Superficially this is a story of purity tainted by lust, with the lust in time paying for its sin. But this view will not stand scrutiny. I see it (viewing it through middle-aged male eyes, of course!) as the story of an intelligent, free-thinking, though hardly selfless man who both worships his ward and wants to sleep with her – not a new high in human complexity. Belatedly the girl is corrupted, not by her guardian but by a society which demands that she feel corrupted. She ends up a vindictive bitch who likes to tease a deaf-mute servant into masturbation and who kills her jealous but sincere and pathetic lover-husband.

Now this reversal, this truth under a trite formula, would make a good film; but if Buñuel had it in mind, he has not put it on the screen, except obliquely and in fragments. The focus is lost in a parade of sadistic and diabolic effects, often graphically done but not knit toward a central vision, as they were in his last two films. The result is a picture that ends with a fuzzy, incomplete feeling, a sense that all this grave apparatus must have been intended for *something*, but only retrospection shows what that something might have been and how it was missed. *Tristana* is more of Buñuel's peculiar self-indulgence, in his own peculiar manner.

The story has been updated to the 1920s, and the exteriors, shot in Toledo, are caught in exquisite muted tones by Jose F. Aguaio. Catherine Deneuve is the heroine and does some of her best miming as she moves from virgin to vixen, but it *is* miming; her role has been dubbed in Spanish by someone else, and part of the unusual effect of her acting is that this time she has an interesting voice. Franco Nero plays her young lover, also dubbed in Spanish, and once more is an ambulatory phallus, the same function he fulfilled in *The Virgin and the Gypsy*. Fernando Rey, the guardian, is subtly quirky and dignified.

No Buñuel film lacks good touches: such as (here) the way Tristana eats throughout the film as an index of sensuality, the glimpses of Spanish small-city life and the position of an atheist in such a city. But *Tristana* wobbles because again Buñuel mistakes the specific gravity of his grotesque and sexual effects.

Well, he's only seventy. Still time to regain the stride of his last two films. I look forward to his text.

A film called *Eldridge Cleaver* can hardly be treated solely as an esthetic object. But first let me note that this documentary, consisting largely of interviews with Cleaver in Algiers, is a cinematic mess: trite in every way except when it is so jerky and inept it doesn't even fulfill filmic clichés. It was made by William Klein, an American, whose previous film was *Mr. Freedom*, an anti-American allegory made in France which, in political simple-mindedness and facile satirical gush, made most underground newspapers look like *Foreign Affairs*.

Politically the new film contains nothing new, and almost all the familiar material it presents is in snippets, with somewhat smug anticipations of agreement. (Klein's smugness, not Cleaver's.) The best elements are its views of Cleaver's personality: his force, stubbornness, and grim humor.

Lately we've been snowed with the term "radical chic"; maybe now we need another term—radical cheek. There is a current blitheness about

(Continued on page 35)

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Jonathan Yardley: How Papa Grew

Islands in the Stream by Ernest Hemingway

(Scribner's; $10)

If American literature has anything approaching an authentic tragic hero, Ernest Hemingway is that man. The claim is not new: "Hemingway's tragedy as an artist," and similar allegations, are familiar stuff. The assumption is that by his thirtieth birthday Hemingway had done virtually all the important work he was to do, that the remaining three decades were to be spent in ever more fruitless and frustrating pursuit of glories and triumphs past.

That *was* the way it was – and has been for many good American (male) writers. They seem invariably to spend themselves early, so if there is tragedy in their precipitate artistic decline it is perhaps more cultural than individual. Writers grow old uneasily, often gracelessly, in this country: Faulkner sliding into sentimentality, Fitzgerald into alcoholic self-punishment, Dos Passos into political reaction, O'Hara into sexual swaggering, now Bellow into wearisome intellectualizing. Hemingway, it could be said, merely followed the prescribed course with characteristic precision.

But Hemingway's loss was more complex. Ernest Hemingway did not merely run out of artistic gas though Lord knows he did; he ran out of Ernest Hemingway. Beginning with his coming to celebrity in the late 1920s, accelerating sharply with his noisy embrace of *machismo* in *Death in the Afternoon*, gaining further momentum with his widely publicized military adventures in Spain, culminating with his near-deification after *The Old Man and the Sea*, the uncompromising artist of the '20s simply disappeared. Hemingway allowed himself – I am tempted to say *volunteered* himself – to become imprisoned in his public image. He belabored his critics for intertwining his personality and his work, for reviewing the man as much as his fiction, but it was a confusion he had invited. The genuinely courageous Hemingway of 113 rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs was mere memory; he had been replaced by a blustering poseur who spent the rest of his life in a painful (certainly it was painful to watch) effort to resurrect the memory and, at the same time, to justify the self-parody he had become.

What happened in or about 1929 is still a mystery, one scarcely solved by the earnestly adulatory Carlos Baker – who actually claims that by 1929 Hemingway was a "free man," the Lost Generation expunged by *The Sun Also Rises* and the war by *A Farewell to Arms*. Artistically he was secure, Baker says, and presumably emotionally as well. Yet rather than trying new ground either artistically or thematically, he spent the rest of his career in a world that seemed to shrink with each new exploration, fully justifying the stinging criticism that Faulkner was to deliver, rating Hemingway "last" after Wolfe, himself, Dos Passos and Caldwell,

> . . . not on the value of the product at all but simply because of Hemingway having taught himself a pattern, a method which he could use and he stuck to that without splashing around to try to experiment. It had nothing to do with the value of the work at all. It was simply on the degree of the attempt to reach the unattainable dream, to accomplish more than any flesh and blood man could accomplish, could touch.

Faulkner's charge about the post-1929 writing, less sentimentally put, was: *no guts*. Hemingway had men's-magazine guts aplenty, wheeling ambulances about Spain or jeeps about Europe or planes about Africa. But though he made a fetish of asserting, as he does in *Islands in the Stream*, that "life is a cheap thing beside a man's work," he persistently refused to enlarge the moral and artistic terrain he first charted in *In Our Time*. He had found a groove, and the longer he stayed in it the more comfortable and deeper it got. Or so he thought, until in declining health and spirit he comprehended the full import of his failure and, in an act that defies any clear explanation, killed himself.

The image that Hemingway lived on for thirty years was a gigantic thing. Nothing in American literature rivals its dimensions: not London's, not Wolfe's, not (but *oh* how he is trying) Mailer's. In part undoubtedly it was created by his retinue of sycophants and his journalistic imitators, but there can be little doubt that its principal architect was the master himself. It lives so vividly in American myth, right up there with Babe Ruth, Gary Cooper and Teddy Roosevelt, that it may well be Hemingway's masterpiece.

As much as anything else, *Islands in the Stream* seems to have been motivated by an urge to shore up, magnify and embroider the legend. Written around 1950, it is a clearly unfinished three-part novel set in the Caribbean in World War II. Artistically it is ordinary postwar Hemingway, with dialogue which parrots Hemingwayisms (". . . Andy gave a cold bottle to the girl and one to David. 'Thank you,' she said, 'It's wonderful and cold' ") and prose which lacks the care and resilience of the best short stories. There are some very good passages in the first section, "Bimini"; the second, "Cuba," is a bore; and the third, "At Sea," is a diverting adventure tale. Overall, it seems unlikely that Hemingway would have wanted to publish the book in this form, not merely because it needs much cutting and refining but because it so obviously anticipates both *A Moveable Feast* and *The Old Man and the Sea* that it seems almost a working draft.

The real interest *Islands in the Stream* holds is as the definitive delineation of the *papier maché* Hemingway, drawn for us not by Baker or Hotchner or *Life*, but by the image

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himself. The central character, Thomas Hudson, a painter, is clearly to be read as Hemingway; so, to a lesser extent, is his best friend Roger Davis, a writer. Their conversations (Hemingway talking to Hemingway!) and actions are designed to reveal Hemingway in all his aspects, to create the Official Portrait.

Scarcely a facade of fiction is maintained. Hudson, like Hemingway, has three sons; they meet fates that his own sons barely escaped. Hudson's yearnings for his first wife reflect Hemingway's nostalgia for Hadley. Much of the action directly parallels events in his own life. Even the name of Hudson's cat, F. Puss, is the same as that of the cat who slept with the infant Bumby in Paris. For Hemingway, of course, autobiographical fiction was, even more than is usual in the genre, a vehicle for redefining people and events to suit his own purposes. Nothing got a more attentive finishing job than the author.

The *real* Ernest Hemingway, such as we know of him, was a man of many native virtues, not merely courage but others of similar stripe: great self-discipline, a good sense of humor which he was not incapable of turning on himself, and – at least in the early years – complete fidelity to his convictions. But he had vices, too, all deriving from his utter self-absorption: he regarded women as instruments of his own pleasure and discarded them when the purpose had been served; he had a generous stockpile of racial and ethnic prejudices (not, admittedly, as unfashionable then as now); and his professional jealousies bordered on the obsessive (his attempt, in *A Moveable Feast*, to homosexualize Fitzgerald, is despicable: "He had very fair wavy hair, a high forehead, excited and friendly eyes and a delicate long-lipped Irish mouth that, on a girl, would have been the mouth of a beauty. . . . The mouth worried you until you knew him and then it worried you more"). In other words, a difficult and complex man – hardly a novel description for an artist as driven and inventive as he. Yet something within him, or within the American culture that spawned and then exploited him, propelled him to establish a self-image of Earth Father, of "Papa" Hemingway.

Papa was a man wedded to nature, as intimate with it as with any woman: "Thomas Hudson had studied tropical storms for many years and he could tell from the sky when there was a tropical disturbance long before his barometer showed its presence." Papa was the world's best fisherman: "You see, Davy, he went down to where he liked it and now he's moving out to where he wants to go. Pretty soon you'll get some line on him." Papa was versed in the ways of war: "Tell me when to throw, Tom." "Throw when you see the flashes. But loft it plenty because it has to fall through the brush." Papa's friends praised his drinking prowess ("You're drinking well and steady and they're not having any effect on you"), but he was no rummy: "Drink that one up and I'll get you another." "No. One's all I want." Papa ate well and he knew good food: "The lima beans, cooked in butter, were firm; the cabbage lettuce was crisp and cold and the grapefruit was chilly cold." Papa knew the true from the false: "Thomas Hudson finished shaving and poured his right hand full of the wonderful ninety-degree pure alcohol that was as cheap in Cuba as miserable rubbing alcohol in the States . . ." Papa was, beneath his rough exterior, warm: "What he cared about was painting and his children and he was still in love with the first woman he had been in love with." Papa was a son's best friend: "Am I bothering you, papa, talking so much?" "Of course not, Tom."

What Papa was, was a *man*. When Papa was "Up in Michigan," he was *up* in Michigan. In a world of men Papa was confident, kindly, disciplined, tolerant, manly. He found warmth and release in women ("He always thought of the house as *her*. . . . It [had] a big open fireplace and Thomas Hudson burned driftwood in it"), but little else: ". . . in the end he was always glad when they were gone, even when he was very fond of them." He knew that men were loyal and that they disdained gratuitous violence: "I don't think jokes with motorcars are funny. I don't think drunken flying is funny. I don't think scaring dogs is funny." His signal traits were decorum, dignity, restraint: always polite, always in control, never extravagant or malicious.

Distortion of reality though the legend may be, it cannot be sniffed at. It has been accepted with enthusiasm and almost complete good faith. To wit, a very thoughtful young man who had been on the 747 blown up in Cairo last month came home and told a reporter, "I thought of the courage of people. I was thinking about some of the things Hemingway had written . . ." No wonder Kennedy was so eager to identify with Hemingway, to make "grace under pressure" his own image; he knew how deeply the Hemingway myth appeals to the American mind.

The appeal lies in its fantasy of "masculinity." Hemingway was to fiction what Lombardi was to football: the "winner," the "disciplinarian," the "fair man," the "courageous battler" – the "man among men." In a culture where "masculinity" seems under constant threat, feminist theoreticians notwithstanding, the reassurance of sexual identity which the image offers cannot be underestimated. For most men are *not* graceful under pressure, they are rarely self-controlled and tolerant, they are as apt to be inept as "good" with women, they are unsuccessful fathers rather than "pals," they are likely to tangle their fishing lines (if they can abide the touch of fish) or shoot off their toes, and with four or five drinks stowed away they get sloppy drunk. When normality is so ordinary, it is no small comfort to live vicariously the life of "masculinity" which Hemingway portrayed in fiction and life.

It is impossible to separate the Hemingway image from his work, but he was right in claiming that his personality interferes with clear critical judgment of his literary influence and durability. It does not seem coincidental, however, that the brilliant early work – the two great novels and the incomparable stories – is also the work in which he was least self-absorbed; much of it is autobiographical, admittedly, but it is largely devoid of the self-promotion that not long after became his main preoccupation. It also has an objectivity that is essential to its clarity, an objectivity one does not find in *Islands in the Stream*. But then, though it is amiable enough, *Islands in the Stream* does not offer much of anything except the legend. It provides no new keys to Hemingway's literary importance. Its narrative is competent (at narrative Hemingway was *never* incompetent), and it contains just enough flickering reminders of his wasted genius to make reading it a frustrating and saddening experience.

The tragedy of Ernest Hemingway was not simply that he ignored his own advice ("Write the best story that you can and write it as straight as you can"), but that he lost almost all sight

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of what "straight" was: he ended up writing not fictions about the truth but fictions about a fiction. Yet to that harsh judgment must be added a note of sympathetic conjecture. We Americans are quick to exploit, and quick to ruin, writers who come quickly to fame: Frank Norris, Stephen Crane, Jack London, Fitzgerald, Wolfe, Hemingway. Of these, all but Hemingway died early, all perhaps self-willed toward death. Hemingway lived with fame and exploitation for three decades, and that may have been a greater agony than we can possibly know. Could it be that without his image as shield, he would not have made it as far as he did?

Roger Starr: Fuzzy Prophet

Cities on the Move by Arnold Toynbee

(Oxford; $6.75)

This book, which only seems long, consists of a non-stop recital of what might be called semi-classical history; it is history the way Muzak is music. On an instrument that sounds no better than an upright piano, Toynbee plays tunes from cities he has known in every age and clime, some as familiar as *Blossom Time*, some as obscure as *The Girl From Nantucket* (who played for two days at the Alvin Theater in 1947 and then went to sleep forever.) Just when we become interested in Rome, Toynbee takes us away to Qab'at Sam'an; his repertoire runs from New York to Vienna, or from Brasilia to Lipinski Vir. He spares us the harmonics in order to give us what he asserts to be the essential theme of each city. The result is a catalogue in which one keeps losing one's place because it omits all of the precious auxiliary information that might make its subjects real. When it doesn't resemble the musical potpourri at a *thé dansant*, *Cities On The Move* suggests a telephone book which lists subscribers by their last name only.

How are we aided in an analysis of Cairo today by learning that Egypt was, if it was, unified before Mesopotamia because the Nile flows north while the prevailing winds blow south? Can we cure Rome's traffic problems better for knowing that Syracuse in Sicily had the longest city walls of any city in the ancient world, the better to include food resources? Perhaps more seriousness with less omniscience would help to produce useful information. Perhaps, however, the fault is in trying to *will* usefulness out the past rather than living comfortably with the refreshing uncertainties that accompany real scholarship. Even if the author had devoted hundreds of pages to the examination of whether Mecca would indeed have remained a holy city if Mohammed had not been born there, the effect on his conclusions about the modern world would have been the same. His present conclusions – that neighborhoods are important, that poor people are better neighbors than rich people, that slums are lively, that structural rehabilitation is better than structural renovation, and that the railroads of America stand (all too often, alas) on the verge of a great revival – are wholly unconnected to the material that precedes them. Toynbee got his conclusions not from the study of Abraham's Ur, but from Charles Abrams' *The City is the Frontier*.

The book follows a thesis of a sort, that cities can be defined as places which are not self-supporting in the necessities of life, but which must be fed by trade elsewhere. Transportation then becomes the crucial issue for city survival, in order that the trade can take place and the necessities brought in. Toynbee then catalogues under several headings the various exports, intangible and tangible, that cities have provided throughout human history in exchange for their needed imports. These include religious experiences which make for holy cities; governmental services, which make for capital cities; strategic services and, of course, economic services which make for capitals of convenience. Naturally, each one of these categories is filled with examples from the past. Only two brief details managed to attract my permanent attention. One refers to the column on which St. Symeon Stylites sat for 47 years, thus contributing to the success of the city of Qal'at Sam'an in Northern Syria. I learned for the first time, and have found it impossible to forget, that the column on which St. Symeon sat was lengthened three times. Toynbee does not say that these accretions took place during the saint's incumbency, but I cannot see why else it should have been mentioned, and perversely, I have been trying to picture how such an operation could have been conducted without disturbing the holy man's meditations. The other detail which caught my eye was the description of the "locust-like hordes of civil servants bicycling slowly, twice a day, from the administrative buildings in the center of New Delhi and the new governmental housing estates on the outskirts. . . ." These seemed to be the only living men and women in the book.

Toynbee's definition of a city (see above) which could as easily have been applied to the British Isles, or, indeed, to any economic collective this side of the Garden of Eden, somehow overlooks what is to me the essential quality of a city, any city; namely, that it is a place in which human interaction is an unavoidable activity. Although Toynbee explicitly does refer on occasion to the conflicts between city people, the references are so sparse, and so likely to be drowned in the grandiose generality of what happened, that one forgets that dealing with modern urban problems means imposing a governmental will on a large number of articulate, dissenting, struggling men and women.

For Toynbee, the historic past leads to an obscure future; a new urban form is emerging which he sometimes calls the mechanized city, sometimes the ecumenical city, and finally the World-City. Like a subordinate theme in a classical sonata, his interest in transport recurs in slightly altered

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form. Suddenly it turns out that the movement of goods and persons in and out of cities must be transposed back from automotive to rail forms. Toynbee quotes figures on the number of people who can be transported between two fixed points in one hour by contrasting modes of transport. The railroad wins over the automobile without the slightest suspicion that the test – moving people between two fixed points – is not necessarily the most significant test of an urban transportation system. In any case, the profundity with which this subject of modern transportation is attacked may be suggested by a sentence which I quote in full:

> "The chief advantage of aviation is its speed, which is incomparably greater than that of any form of surface-transport on either land or water."

The importance of history, it seems to me, lies in the thickness of detail that provides at last a recognizable model of a human condition; or it lies in the sudden, trenchant remark that suddenly throws a new shaft of light on a familiar subject. One searches *Cities On The Move* in vain for the dense detail, and as for trenchant remarks, it is not unfair to suggest that Toynbee himself feels he has made two. The first, which is his own, tells us that the present mechanized capital city is "soulless; and because it is soulless, it is unloved." The second trenchant remark is found on page 245. Toynbee tells us, "Man shall not live by bread alone," but a rare footnote calls to our attention that the remark is not original with Toynbee. It comes from Luke, iv., 4.

Notes on Contributors

Stephen Koch *is a professor of English at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Long Island.* Roger Starr *is the Executive Director of the Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York City.* Jonathan Yardley *is book editor of the* Greensboro Daily News.

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Stephen Koch: On Looking at What Isn't

Jasper Johns by Max Kozloff

(Harry N. Abrams; $25.00.)

Jasper Johns: Prints 1960-1970 by Richard S. Field

(Praeger; $15.00)

In 1959, Jasper Johns, then the rapidly rising boy wonder of the art world, painted a picture called *Shade. Shade's* mute, perverse logic kept returning to me as I paged through these books, absorbed, looking at reproduction after reproduction of paintings and graphics by this man who may well be, as one art critic called him in a burst of unguarded enthusiasm, "after all, the *real* genius of the sixties." *Shade* is a large canvas to which has been attached an ordinary window shade. That shade has been drawn down to cover the imaginary "window" of the conventional picture's view into deep, three-dimensional perspective space, that "window" which modernist painting has closed. But the surface of the shade also has been painted over with a richly textured black, moving toward white through greys, greys that constantly seem to hint at color without ever quite bringing themselves to articulate real color. The whole combines into a rich, suggestive surface opening into the purely painterly space made familiar by abstract expressionism; what seemed closed is opened again in other terms.

Yet that reopened visual experience insistently seems to nudge the eye and the mind toward something absent, those faintly suggested but absent colors which have been shaded – get it? – into a mutism of grey. We grasp suddenly that we are looking at two mutually opposed things, *neither of which is there:* an experience of pure deep space, "window-like" – but denied; and an experience of pure color, swarming on the surface of the eye – but denied. And abruptly these subtle denials converge in the characteristic moment provided by this coolest of all sensualists, something I think of as the Johnsian moment. His shaded negativities glow outward toward gratification and fulness, only to flicker away again, like the vanishing of a taste that reaches the tongue only after swallowing.

The paintings of Jasper Johns are for the most part scattered across the world behind the closed living room doors of the very rich. It's perhaps cold comfort that few artists prepare us so well for the complicated frustrations of picturing the real through reproductions than this masterful sleight-of-hand man of what you see and what you don't, but life – and the prospects for a major retrospective – "being what they are, I'm grateful for both these books, especially Mr. Kozloff's, which in addition to being profuse with excellent reproductions (43 in color) provides a major critical essay. The two books work well together; Kozloff's concentrating primarily on Johns' paintings and sculptural objects; Mr. Field's dealing exclusively with the graphic works, etchings, lithographs and the like. In fact, they work more than merely well. One positively needs

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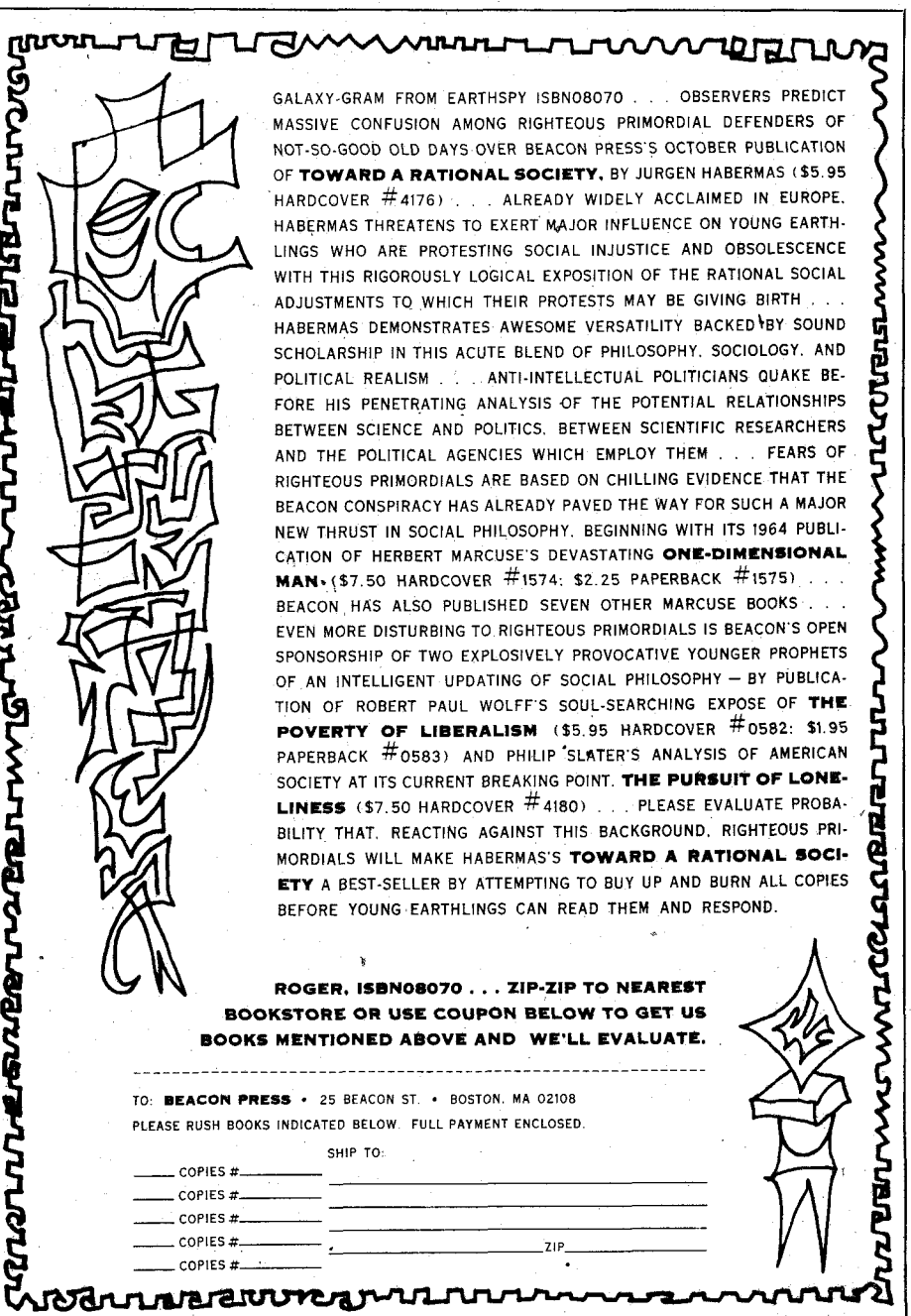
the other, since real understanding of Johns' graphics presupposes familiarity with his painting and sculpture.

Unfortunately, that does not mean they are of commensurate value. The quality of reproduction in the Praeger book (I mention the publisher; the author of an art book cannot be held responsible for such things) is decidedly mediocre, if not outright bad, as a comparison of the few works the two books reproduce in common instantly makes clear. Those in the Kozloff book leap into a clarity and definition which seems positively stunning in contrast to the yellowish smog seeming to linger on the pages of the book of prints. Turning from the one to the other is as if you had cleaned – or just dirtied – some eye glasses. The Praeger book is also stingy on color prints, though Johns has used color crucially in lithographs. Worst of all, certain major prints are stupidly reproduced only in part.

Both books are also works of criticism, and it's worth noting that, sumptuous and immediately lush though many of his canvases may be, Jasper Johns is a decidedly "difficult" artist whose strongest effects may withhold themselves from "uneducated" looking in a way that those of, say, Jackson Pollock may not. Now, among the general reading public, art criticism has an extremely bad reputation. It is thought incomprehensible, pretentious (it frequently is); with less justice, it is thought to be futile, as if the experience of looking at something couldn't be discussed. True, the vocabulary of art criticism has progressively tended to close itself from the general public in a way perhaps analogous to the increasing abstraction of the vocabulary in the works themselves, and some of art criticism's bad reputation may be traceable to, as it seems to me, a largely unjustified resentment of both those phenomena. But the major problem, I think, is rather that with only a few important exceptions, most art critics have not been real writers at all; they have not been, on the whole, people with any true, strong sense of what is involved in *using* language about an experience. The result is that most efforts to read art criticism promptly fling one, foundering, into a morass of jejune pretention and very grand words gasping to say things they cannot say.

Neither of these two books will subject you to that. Though plainly a rank amateur among the mysteries of the Word, Mr. Field works conscientiously, and for the most part successfully, at being at least clear about what he has to say. The result is lucid, flat, generally useful, and located on the boredom meter variously between faintly and extremely. He is always concrete; he addresses himself to every major work the book contains. In general, he limits himself to pointing out simple polarities of visual interest, hoping to set into motion the interplay of the readers own process of looking at the work. It's a strategy that either works or doesn't; it cannot mislead. It may not be Ruskin; it's nothing to write home about but it's OK by me.

Max Kozloff, on the other hand – surely the most "writerly" of all current art critics – uses language with a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real gift; his long essay has shape and relief; it carries the reader through the experience of looking and thinking about what's been seen with an urgent intelligence that can be exciting in itself. Unlike Field, Kozloff allows himself to speculate: He refuses to keep silent before the forbiddingly silent mandarin who is his subject; there is an almost exhilarating sense of transgression in the way he insists upon speaking his mind as it moves across these canvases.

And speaking well. Johns' paintings are "difficult" in a special way: there is in them a – well, let's call it "intellectual" – dimension rare in current art. Most of his work must be comprehended to be really seen, and the very special process of getting into these lush, cryptic productions involves looking with the mind, and above all thinking with the eye. It is not enough to merely see; one is forced to actively imagine what one sees, for Johns proposes what Annette Michelson called, in a short, supple, and dead right text on the prints, a "uniquely imaginary rendering of reality." A ghostly dialectic animates the works: the constant discovery of something absent within something present; of something thought within something seen; something concealed within what's revealed; mutism within what's spoken. All these engage thought in a peculiarly delicate and plastic way, though more often than not the insights of that "thought" are instantly swallowed up into the concrete again.

Wallace Stevens wrote, in *The Monocle de Mon Oncle*:

> The honey of heaven may or may not come,
> But that of earth both comes and goes at once.

The lines might serve as a kind of touchstone for Johns' whole body of work.

Television

David Frost Rampant

David Frost is proceeding at a pace no unhospitalized TV gazer can keep up with; but I managed to catch two of his shows last week and decided that if he lasts 'til Christmas (surely by then he will have made enough moola for forever?) he may wholly alter the character of prime time on the networks. Strange revolutionary. I don't like him much, but I pray nonetheless that the networks are shaking in their gruesome reactionary boots at his successes. In his neutralist, harmless, nice-guy commercial way (ah, but that British accent) he is demonstrating that talking heads are not dead – a worthy cause.

The two shows I monitored were Arlo Guthrie and (of course) Spiro. A talking head should not have a guitar, but Guthrie performed so badly on his that he can be judged as a talking head only; as such he was much more the David Frost *kind* of talking head – a rambling raconteur – than the argumentative VP, though the Frost program is capacious and handles both kinds well. Guthrie was relaxed, egocentric and incoherent; he was thoroughly at home, smilingly mumbling that the world, you know, just isn't making it in the universe, you know; and Frost gave him his most solemn, horsey, ain't-it-the-truth look as the oatmeal profundities poured forth. No arguments, no confrontations – except vaguely off in the distance Guthrie's profitable annoyance with age and short hair. Spiro on the other hand had a bevy of the enemy around him, and he skilfully took the enemy's words and ground them into silliness, while the atmosphere of hate and frustration thickened.

Frost looked happy with the Guthrie show and unhappy with the other, *not*, I would guess because Spiro beat "the kids" but because the Spiro program was ulcerishly tense. The Vice President converted the program into old-time debating, with only the Vice President knowing what debating amounts to. The Frost program at its happiest is a quiet head-nodder, not a struggle, especially not a verbal struggle. It is usually a long warm bath.

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less, but the words have been McLuhanized; they don't count much sentence by sentence but are put forth, much as a face is, to be looked at and lived with – or walked out on. They don't *mean*, but display character and identity, plus a righteousness about the likes of Agnew. As an oldster I weep for youth's indignant words, pouring out of toothy portals like angry bees, only to get lost. With many Agnew fearers I had mixed feelings about his victory, but of one thing I was sure; I was terribly pleased that somebody, anybody, even Agnew, *was* paying attention to the words themselves and how they are connected with each other.

So hurrah for both kinds of talking heads. If we must go into the future with incoherence, surely it is better to do so with Arlo Guthrie saying "you know" in front of us than to be left, as prime time keeps threatening to leave us, with stagey comedies, melodramas to a Gerry Mulligan beat, and stupid variety shows. And if to the Arlo Guthrie kind of thing can be added, on occasion, real argument like, you know, argument for the old folks, I don't care, so far as the future of TV is concerned, whether the announced singular villain occasionally shows up a whole stableful of heroes.

Sedulus

Correspondence

Who Flunks?

Sirs:

Leon Keyserling's injured feelings (as evidenced in his "Which Economists Have Flunked Out?" *NR* Oct. 3), may be restored if he will recall that I gave Arthur Burns and Gardiner Ackley A's only on the basis of the skill they displayed in using the conventional "new economics." On that standard, I did not apply specific grades to the other chairmen of the Council of Economic Advisers, but simply stated that all of them passed. As an afterthought, I should give Mr. Keyserling B+. But he misses my main point – the crux of the as yet unsolved problem of economic instability that faces all Western democracies. Mr. Keyserling didn't achieve it, nor did any of the other chairman of the Economic Council. On *that* objective standard of performance, the grades assigned to the chairman must be changed all down the line. In particular, if we must give Paul McCracken a zero for his present failure, we are compelled in all justice to flunk Keyserling and the others too.

Melville J. Ulmer

Sirs:

Melvin Ulmer may be a trifle hard on some past Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. Walter Heller, using voluntary wage and price controls, got a substantial increase in employment while holding prices very nearly stable. But Ulmer's general point is a valid one; the established economics, which past advisers to both Republican and Democratic Presidents have professed, cannot reconcile approximate price stability with a tolerably high level of employment. Those who try will fail; the failure will not be peculiar to Republicans. Selective controls are essential and must now have the force of law.

John Kenneth Galbraith
Cambridge, Mass.

Open Housing

Sirs:

Given the inability of the private and public producers of American housing to find the means or the will for developing enough new units – particularly of the lower-income variety – policies are desperately needed for insuring that all citizens have equal access to the *existing* supply of urban housing. It is therefore unfortunate that the press – including *The New Republic* – has begun to adopt the appealing but far from validated argument that the "suburbanization" of inner-city nonwhites will enable them to move into relatively higher quality employment in rapidly-growing industries located in the suburbs (see, for example, Robert W. Dietsch, "Cracking the Suburbs," *NR*, Sept. 5-12, and any number of TRB's recent columns). According to this argument, open housing becomes an instrument for solving the minority *employment* problem.

On theoretical grounds, there are ample reasons for questioning whether the admittedly explosive growth of suburban jobs means that nonwhites moving to the suburbs would be likely to improve their employment status. Since suburban industries tend to be more clustered than central city job centers, *physical access* of a suburban homesite to a suburban jobsite depends very much on just where that homesite happens to be. Distances between two points within a circle grow as you move farther out from the center; the intrasuburban journey-to-work *could* be much farther (and perhaps more

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expensive) than the present commuter trip between suburbs and central city.

Then, too, the *skill composition* of those industries which are suburbanizing most rapidly has to be explored. Washington DC aside, public service employment (a great deal of which requires few technical skills much beyond functional literacy) is growing much faster *inside* the central city than in the suburbs.

Thirdly, the *quality* of those suburban jobs already held by or becoming available to nonwhites may be so low as to make it difficult for nonwhite household heads to meet the payments on suburban housing without either moonlighting themselves, sending wives and children out to work, or both.

Finally – and this is surely the most important oversight in the argument – the *existence* of large and growing numbers of suburban jobs does not in itself guarantee that nonwhites will be able to move into these jobs, even if they live nearby. Suburban employers and suburban white employee unions discriminate, too.

Urban economic research currently underway at such places as Yale, the Urban Institute, and the University of Maryland is addressing these and related questions. One interesting preliminary finding seems to show that, for a number of cities, centrally located blue collar and service jobs are growing faster than the central city population, creating the paradox of an excess demand for labor within the city – a demand which tends increasingly to be filled by commuting white suburbanites – while unemployment rates in the inner-city ghettos remain at Depression levels. Another preliminary finding indicates that, in a number of medium-sized cities, many industries are actually *recentralizing!*

The point is that these are complex issues, about which far too little is known to permit attaching any degree of confidence to the new conventional wisdom which justifies open housing in terms of its alleged impact on minority employment. In an area of our national life where too many false promises have been made in the past to the black, the brown, and the poor, it would be most unwise to base public housing policy on yet another promise, the keeping of which is so open to question.

Bennett Harrison
Department of Economics
University of Maryland

Black Principals

Sirs:

Turn off the tears for those vanishing black principals. Examine the implications of James' admission (Sept. 26) that the black principal has always been the creature of a white-controlled system. The black principal did not reach his favored status through Moses-like leadership. He got there by caution, and stayed there by keeping quiet and making sure that his students were as brainwashed to acceptance of the status quo as he was. While his students fought rats at home before school and could look beyond school only to racist oppression that would deny them opportunities and shorten their lives through pestilence or the pistol, the black principal counseled conservatism: "Keep your nose in the book, be a good nigger, and you can have my prestige, big car and nice house."

Models of leadership such as the traditional black principal the black community can do without. New and more satisfactory models are now emerging – attorneys, physicians, businessmen, politicians and some teachers with liberation in their heads.

Charles H. Ramberg
Alexandria, Va.

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

violence, particularly in sidelines spectators of revolutionary action, that is a kind of massive impertinence. This film has a scene in which a Black Panther teaches children the following song:

There's a pig up on the hill.
If you don't shoot him, the Panthers will.

I saw the picture on the day that a Toledo, Ohio, policeman was murdered. A black man walked up to a parked police car, said to the policeman at the wheel, "Hey, baby, I've got something for you," and put three bullets in the man's head. The police link this shooting to the Panthers, the Panthers deny it, but either way the song's advice has been taken. I'm not saying that Klein's film was the cause of the murder – I'm sure it hasn't yet reached Toledo – but what message has William Klein for the widow and four children of that policeman?

Yes, I've heard of Bobby Hutton and Fred Hampton. (I've also heard of Alex Rackley.) As it happens, I was one of the signers of a protest against the actions of Oakland, California, police toward the Panthers in 1968. But I'm not a selective objector to murder. The Panthers, understandably enough, began by carrying weapons for self-defense. The tone has changed, the matter grows enormously in complexity and danger; and glibness, like that of Klein and his fellow filmmakers, is cheek.

Personals

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